HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

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To

The Memory of

My Father

PREFACE

The first edition of this work was published in two separate volumes in 1923, 1925. Almost simultaneously in 1923 appeared the second edition of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* by Mahāmahopādyāya Dr P. V. Kane, to which was prefixed an introduction of 177 pages dealing with the history of Alaṃkāra literature, subsequently elaborated in the third edition (1951) into 423 pages. Referring to these facts Dr Kane writes: "Both of us were thus practically pioneers in this field. Our books led many scholars to study the numerous works on Alaṃkāra, to point out defects and mistakes, to produce papers dealing with several aspects of the Alaṅkāraśāstra and to publish several important texts." This will make clear the necessity of revising the present work, which was written and published independently, but which, not yet superseded, had been out of print for more than thirty years.

The scope of the present work was sufficiently explained in the preface to the first edition. An attempt has been made to approach the subject from the historical point of view, instead of presenting a bare account of the works and authors or a mere epitọme of the different topics of Alaṃkāra. Presuming a general knowledge and taking the representative writers (and, as far as necessary, the neglected commentators and so-called minor writers), the development of Sanskrit Poetics has been traced through its fairly long and varied course of history, which covers an extensive literature of more than a thousand years. The first volume of the work, therefore, deals with the preliminary but important question of a working Chronology and original Sources, on the basis of which the second volume proceeds to set forth the history through divergent Systems and Theories. It will be seen that, barring some

rearrangement and division into chapters, the general form of the first edition has not been changed ; but for convenience the two volumes are now published in one, divided into parts.

In investigating the growth of Sanskrit Poetics it was, of course, not possible to ignore its content ; but it has been thought more useful to lay stress on the essentials of doctrines and omit minor details, the object of this work being more historical than expository. It was not possible, for instance, to give a detailed technical analysis of individual rhetorical "figures", with which the Alaṃkāra-śāstra is traditionally and popularly associated ; but the general doctrine of poetic figures has been dealt with, in so far as they are not mere tickets of nomenclature but positive agents in the production of artistic beauty. The study of analytical Rhetoric, apart from its value as a formal discipline, may be regarded as pedantic and futile ; but Sanskrit Alaṃkāra-śātra, in spite of its name, possesses a speculative interest by involving, besides mere Rhetoric, a great deal of what is known to-day as Criticism or Aesthetic. It was almost impossible for the Ālaṃkārikas, concerned that they were with form and technique, not to be interested in the general phenomenon of literature or theorise on general principles.

For a similar reason of historical and general treatment greater emphasis has been laid on the earlier writers who cover the creative periods of the discipline ; of later writers who show in the main an excessive dependence on their predecessors, only typical names have been selected with a due regard to their historical as well as intrinsic importance. The author has confined himself to Sanskrit Poetics, and has not taken into account the numerous vernacular works on the subject, as well as the allied but distinct theme of Dramaturgy ; for they deserve more room for a detailed and separate treatment. The Bibliographies and references are perhaps not exhaustive ; but they are

meant to supply such notable information as might lead to a further study.

A word of explanation may be deemed necessary for the use of the term Poetics to designate a half-theoretical and half-practical discipline which goes by the name of Alaṃkāra-śāstra. Its scope has been sufficiently explained by H. Jacobi, who seems to have been the first to make this term current, in *ZDMG* lvi, 1902, p. 393, fn 1. It may be pointed out that the commonly used term Rhetoric is inadequate in explaining the standpoint of a study which includes a great deal more than a mere normative treatment of rhetorical categories ; while the expression Aesthetic in this connexion is misleading, inasmuch as the theoretical scope of Alaṃkāra literature is not co-extensive with what is understood by that term in modern philosophical studies. Comparative estimates, therefore, with reference to Western Aesthetic or European Critical literature have been generally avoided ; for that would not only exceed the limited scope of the present work but might lead to sweeping or misleading generalisations. Those who are interested will find a short critical outline of Sanskrit Poetics in the light of modern Aesthetic in two essays by the present writer published in the *Dacca University Studies*, vol. i (1936), pp. 1-46, and in the *New Indian Antiquary* ix, nos. 1-3 (reprinted in the author's *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 1-53).

It is needless to say that, as the references will indicate, a careful use has been made of the accumulated but scattered labours of previous workers, but it has been supplemented by the author's own studies. Useless discussion or controversy, however, has been avoided as much as possible, the author confining himself to stating his own view and leaving it to speak for itself. He is fully conscious that no one can claim he has said the last word on the subject.

In the preface to the first edition the author recorded

with sincere thanks the manifold help and encouragement he received in writing this work. But it is sad to recollect in this connexion the departed *kalyāṇa-mitras*, H. Jacobi, L. D. Barnett and F. W. Thomas. He has only to add that in the present edition he has profited by the suggestions of Professor Dr V. Raghavan who took the trouble, in the midst of his manifold preoccupation, of sending useful bibliographical notes on some works and authors.

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CHRONOLOGY AND SOURCES

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

(1)

There is an interesting passage in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in which Rājaśekhara, while giving us a somewhat fanciful account of the divine origin of Poetics, mentions at the same time the names of the supposed original exponents of the discipline. It is said that the Spirit of Poetry (*kāvya-puruṣa*), born of the Goddess of Learning (*sarasvatī*), was set by the Self-existent Being to promulgate the study of Poetics in the three worlds ; and he related it in eighteen *adhikaraṇas* to his seventeen will-born pupils These divine sages, in their turn, are said to have composed separate treatises on the portions respectively learnt by them. Thus Sahasrākṣa wrote on *kavi-rahasya*, Uktigarbha on *auktika*, Suvarṇanābha on *rīti*, Pracetāyana on *anuprāsa*, Citrāṅgada on *yamaka* and *citra*, Śeṣa on *śabda-śleṣa*, Pulastya on *vāstava*, Aupakāyana on *upamā*, Pārāśara on *atiśaya*, Utathya on *artha-śleṣa*, Kubera on *ubhayālaṃkāra*, Kāmadeva on *vainodika*, Bharata on *rūpaka*, Nandikeśvara on *rasa*, Dhiṣaṇa on *doṣa*, Upamanyu on *guṇa* and Kucamāra on *aupaniṣadika*. This tendency on the part of a Sanskrit author towards glorifying his science and thereby investing it with an ancient unalterable authority is not unusual, and such legendary accounts are often fabricated where the actual origin is forgotten ; but it is curious that we do not meet with them elsewhere in Alaṃkāra literature, although they find expression in Bharata and in Vātsyāyana with regard to the origin of the allied disciplines of Dramaturgy and Erotics respectively. The historical value of this passage of Rājaśekhara may, indeed, be well doubted ; but it is possible that this unique account, apart from its obviously mythical garb, embodies a current tradition, implying the actual existence, at some remote and forgotten period, of

early expounders of poetic theory, some of whose names are still familiar, but most of whose works have apparently perished. Thus, Suvarṇanābha and Kucamāra (or Kucumāra) are also cited with reverence by the author of the *Kāma-sūtra* (i. 1. 13, 17), both of them as authorities on Erotics, but the latter especially as well-versed in the particular subject of *aupaniṣadika*, which is thus included in Erotics as well as in Poetics.[1] The present-day text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which goes by the name of Bharata, deals in an encyclopaedic manner with various topics, but Bharata is well known, as described by Rājaśekhara, as an authority on *rūpaka*. No work of Nandikeśvara on *rasa* has yet been discovered ; but his name is associated with a number of works, mostly late compilations, on erotics, music, histrionic art, grammar and Tantra.[2]

This traditional account may lead one to make the tempting suggestion of a very early systematic investigation of rhetorical issues but for the serious difficulty that there is hardly any material in the ancient literature itself to enable us to trace the origin of Poetics to a very remote antiquity. The Alaṃkāra-śāstra is never mentioned among the orthodox disciplines which constitute the so-called Vedāṅgas, nor do we meet with any passage in the Vedic *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* or the earlier *Upaniṣads* in which we may find a real basis for a system of Poetics. The word *upamā*, for instance, is found as early as the *Ṛg-veda* (v. 34. 9 ; i. 31, 15), and Sāyana explains it in the sense of *upamāna* (as in Pāṇini ii. 3. 72) or *dṛṣṭānta* ; but there is nothing unusual in this use of the general idea of similitude, which need not be interpreted as having a particular speculative significance. It is conceded, on the authority of Yāska and Pāṇini, that the conception of *upamā* or similitude considerably affected the Vedic language as well as its accent ; but beyond this grammatical or philo-

1 Cf. *JDL* iv p. 95.

2 For Nandikeśvara see below under ch. ii.

logical interest, there is no indication of a dogma, much less of a theory, of Poetics in Vedic times. Nor should undue emphasis be laid on the use of poetic figures in Vedic literature ; for between this unconscious employment of figures of speech and the concious formulation of a definite system, there must necessarily be a long step.[1]

(2)

The first evidence of a definite, if somewhat crude, activity in this direction is traceable in the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta* From the investigation of the peculiarities of the general form of language, which began early, attention was apparently directed to the analysis of the poetic forms of speech; but the question was still regarded entirely from the linguistic point of view. The term *alaṃkāra* in the technical sense does not occur in the *Nirukta*, but Yāska uses the word *alaṃkariṣṇu* in the general sense of 'one in the habit of adorning', which Pāṇini explains in iii. 2. 136 and which is apparently the meaning of the word occurring in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 8. 4. 7; iii. 5. 1. 36), and in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (viii. 8. 5). But in the *Nighaṇṭu* iii. 13, a list is given of particles of comparison relating to the Vedic *upamā*, comprising twelve varieties, which are illustrated in the *Nirukta* i. 4, iii. 13-18 and ix. 6. Six of these varieties, viz., those indicated by the particles *iva*, *yathā*, *na*, *cit*, *nu* and *ā*, are discussed in connexion with Yāska's treatment of *upamārthe nipātas* or particles indicative of comparison (i. 4), and partly included in what he designates as *karmopamā* in iii. 15. Then Yāska mentions *bhūtopamā*, in which the *upamita* becomes the *upamāna* in character, and *rūpopamā*, where the *upamita* resembles the *upamāna* in point of form. The fourth variety occurs where the

1 P. V. Kane (*HSP*, 3rd Ed. Bombay 1951, pp. 315-19 ; also *IA* xli, 1912, p. 120f) argues at some length that the Ṛgvedic poets have had some ideas about a theory of Poetics, as well as of Drama and dramatic representation. Also B. N. Bhattacharya in *JDL* ix, 1923, p. 100f.

particle *yathā* is used. Then comes *siddhopamā*, in which the standard of comparison is well established and known to surpass every other object in a particular quality or act, and is characterised by the suffix *vat*. The last variety is *luptopamā* or suppressed simile, also called *arthopamā* (equivalent to the *rūpaka* of later theorists), which is illustrated in iii. 18 (also ix. 6), where the example is given of the popular application of the terms *siṃha* and *vyāghra* in a laudatory and *śvan* and *kāka* in a derogatory sense. The term *upamāna* itself is used by Yāska, but only to denote these particles of comparison (vii. 31). The significance of comparison in general is also referred to in i. 19, ii. 6, iii. 5, iv. 11, v. 22 and vii. 13. Incidentally Yāska quotes (iii. 13) the grammarian Gārgya's definition of *upamā*,[1] which is important from our point of view. As explained by Durgācarya, it lays down that *upamā* occurs when an object which is dissimilar is reckoned, through similarity, with an object having similar attributes.[2] It also states as a general rule that the standard of comparison should be superior in merit and better known than the object of comparison ; but the reverse case is also admitted and illustrated (iii. 14-15) by two examples from the *Ṛg-veda* (x. 40. 2 ; x. 4. 6). The definition, too wide as it is, recalls Mammaṭa's similar dictum, and undoubtedly establishes a very early, but more or less definite, conception of the poetic *upamā*.

By the time of Pāṇini this conception of *upamā* seems to have been tacitly recognised and we find him using in this connexion the technical terms *upamāna*,[3] *upamita*[4] and

1 *athāta upamā yad atat tat-sadṛśam iti gārgyaḥ, tad āsāṃ karma jyāyasā vā guṇena prakhyātatamena vā kanīyaṃsaṃ vāprakhyātaṃ vopamimīte'thāpi kanīyasā jyāyāṃsam.*

2 *evam atat tat-svarūpeṇa guṇena guṇa-sāmānyād upamīyate ity evaṃ gārgyācāryo manyate.*

3 ii. 1. 55 ; iii. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45 ; v. 4. 97, 137 ; vi. 1. 204, 2. 2, 72, 80, 127, 145, 169.

4 ii. 1. 56.

sāmānya[1] as well as general expressions like *upamā*[2] (used in the sense of the rhetorician's *upamāna*), *aupamya*,[3] *upamārthe*[4] and *sūdṛśya*.[5] It is noteworthy that in nearly fifty *sūtras* distributed all over his work, Pāṇini incidentally discusses, from the grammarian's point of view, the influence of the conception of comparison on the language in the varied dominion of affixes, including case and feminine suffixes, *kṛt*, *taddhita* and *samāsānta* terminations,[6] in the making of compounds[7] and in accent.[8] The same influence is also traceable in the idea of *atideśa*, a term which is not used by Pāṇini himself but which is made clear by his commentators, and which may be translated as 'extended application by analogy or similarity'. Kātyāyana, in several *vārttikas*,[9] follows Pāṇini in noting the same influence of the idea of similitude, while Śāntanava in his *Phiṭsūtra* discusses it in connexion with accentuation.[10] In the *Mahābhāṣya* on ii. 1. 55, Patañjali has defined and illustrated Pāṇini's use of the term *upamāna*. A *māna* or measure, he says, is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unknown; *upamāna* is approximate to the *māna* and determines the thing not absolutely (but approximately), *e.g.* when we say 'a *gavaya* is like a cow'.[11] Strictly speaking, a writer on Poetics will not accept the example adduced by Patañjali as an instance of

1 ii. 1. 55, 56 ; viii. 1. 74.

2 ii. 3. 72.

3 i. 4. 79 ; iv. 1. 69 ; vi. 2. 113.

4 viii. 2. 101.

5 ii. 1. 6-7; vi. 2. 11.

6 i. 4. 79 ; ii. 3. 72 ; iii. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45 ; iv. 1. 69, 4. 9 ; v. 1. 115-16, 2. 39, 3. 96, 106, 4. 97, 137.

7 ii. 1. 7, 31, 55-6 ; vi. 2. 11.

8 v. 1. 18 ; vi. 1. 204, 2. 2, 11, 72, 80, 113, 127, 145, 169 etc.

9 on i. 3. 21 ; ii. 1. 55, 2. 24, 4. 71 ; iii. 1. 10 etc.

10 e.g. ii. 16, iv. 18.

11 *Mānaṃ hi nāmānirjñāta-jñānārtham upādīyate'nirjñātam arthaṃ jñāsyāmīti, tat-samīpe yan nātyantāya mimīte tad upamānam, gaur iva gavaya iti*, ed. Kielhorn i, p. 397.

poetic *upamā*,[1] inasmuch as the characteristic charmingness essential in a poetic figure is wanting in such a plain expression; but this grammatical analysis of the general idea of comparison is an early and near approach to the technical conception of Poetics.[2]

(3)

A special interest attaches to these rules of Pāṇini and the dicta of early grammarians, inasmuch as they form the basis of what may be termed the grammatical sub-division of the figure *upamā* into direct (*śrautī*) and indirect (*ārthī*) simile as well similes based on *kṛt* and *taddhita* suffixes, recognised as early as Udbhaṭa's time. Thus, the authority for the *śrautī upamā*, in which the notion of comparison is conveyed by particles like *yathā*, *iva*, *vā* or by the suffix *vat*, when *vat* is equivalent to *iva*, is supposed to be based on two rules of Pāṇini (v. 1. 115-16), which lay down that the suffix *vat* is applied to the standard of comparison in the locative or genitive case and takes the place of the case-ending and *iva*, as well as to a noun which should otherwise be in the instrumental case in the sense of *tena tulya* (like that), if the similarity consists in an action and not in quality. Thus, we get the forms *mathurāvat* (=*mathurāyām iva*) *pāṭaliputre prākāraḥ*, *caitravat* (=*caitrasya iva*) *maitrasya gāvaḥ*, as well as *brāhmaṇavad* (=*brāhmaṇena tulyam*) *adhīte*, but not *caitravat kṛśaḥ*. In the same way, we have compounded simile like *kumbhāviva stanau*, according to the *vārttika* (*ivena samāso vibhaktyalopaḥ*) on Pāṇini ii. 4. 71, which is, therefore, taken as an instance of compounded direct simile (*samāsagā śrautī upamā*). Similarly, the ending *kyac*, according to Pāṇini iii. 1. 10, is applied to a noun in the objective case, which is expressive of *upamāna*, in the sense of

1 *go-sadṛśo gavayā iti nopamā*, *Citr. mīm.* p. 6.

2 The conception of *upamā* appears to be fully established in

'behaviour' (*ācāra*), and gives us a simile in phrases like *pauraṃ janaṃ sutīyasi* ; while the next rule of Pāṇini lays down that the suffix *kyaṅ* may be applied to a noun in the nominative case in the sense of 'behaving like', and this forms the basis of a simile in such expressions as *tava sadā ramaṇīyate śrīḥ.* It is needless to cite more examples, for this will be sufficient to indicate that some of the speculations on poetic speech can be traced back to the early grammatical analysis of the same ideas, and they point to the fact that even in the age of Pāṇini, some of these conceptions appear to have been well established and to have considerably influenced his enquiry. It should be admitted that these tentative sallies of the grammarians are not definite enough to indicate the existence of a system, but even the limited stock of notions, thus indirectly relating to Poetics, throws an interesting light on the genesis of later speculations on poetic speech.

If any deduction is permissible from the name 'Alaṃkāra' (lit. embellishment)[1] given to the discipline as well as from the contents of the earliest existing works on the subject, it will appear that the science started *a posteriori* out of the very practical object of analysing poetic embellishments of speech with a view to prescribe definite rules of composition; but it cannot be doubted that it received a great impetus from the highly developed enquiry into the forms of language made by the grammarians. From internal evidence as well as from the testimony, which admits of little doubt, of some of the ancient authorities on Poetics, it is clear that the theoretical background of the discipline was, to some extent, founded on the philosophical speculations on linguistics, so that Grammar, one of the oldest and soundest sciences of India, was its god-father and helped it towards ready

1 The theory of V. Raghavan (*JOR* ix, pp. 264-67; and *Some Concepts of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra*, Adyar 1942, pp. 258-67) that the original name was Kriyā-kalpa lacks definite proof (see Kane's criticism in *HSP*, pp. 329-31). The name Sāhitya is of course late (Kane, *op. cit.* p. 328-29).

acceptance. Ānandavardhana speaks of his own system as being based on the authority on the grammarians, to whom he pays an elegant tribute as the first and foremost thinkers (*prathame hi vidvāṃso vaiyākaraṇāḥ, vyākaraṇa-mūlatvāt sarva-vidyānām*, p. 47); while Bhāmaha, one of the earliest known formulators of poetic theory, not only devotes one whole chapter to the question of grammatical correctness—a procedure which is followed by Vāmana—but also proclaims openly in vi. 63 the triumph of the views of Pāṇini. Apart from such details as the linguistic analysis of the idea of comparison referred to above, it can be easily shown that some of the fundamental conceptions of poetic theory, relating to speech in general, are avowedly based on the views of the grammarians to the exclusion of other schools of opinion. Thus, the question regarding the convention (*saṃketa*), whereby the expressed meaning of a word (*abhidhā*) is to be understood, is settled by a reference to the views of the grammarians on this point. The grammarians hold, in opposition to the Naiyāyikas, Saugatas and Mīmāṃsakas, that the import of a word is either *jāti*, *dravya*, *kriyā* or *guṇa*, as expressed by the dictum *catuṣṭayī śabdānāṃ pravṛttiḥ*, cited from the *Mahābhāṣya*[1] by Mukula (p. 4) and Mammaṭa (*Śabda-vy*. p. 2). Indeed, the whole analysis of the two functions of word and its sense, called *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*[2], is borrowed from the grammatico-philosophical ideas already elaborated by the grammarians; and even the new aesthetic system of Ānandavardhana, in establishing the third function of *vyañjanā* attempts to seek an authority for its theory on the analogy of the quasi-grammatical theory of *sphoṭa*, which is associated with the name of the pre-pāṇinian grammarian Sphoṭāyana, and which we find fully developed in the *Vākyapadīya*.

1 *Mahābhāṣya* ed. Kielhorn, p. 19, l. 20. Cf. also *Kumāra-saṃbhava* ii. 17, where this view is clearly mentioned, although Mallinātha would explain the *catuṣṭayī pravṛtti* with reference to the four *vivartas* of Vāc.

2 Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on viii. 1. 12.

(4)

Some of these ideas, again, are more or less recognised in the different philosophical systems, which concern themselves with *śabda* or speech in general, in connexion with the question of scriptural revelation and interpretation. The theory of *sphoṭa*, which, however, has only a far-fetched relation to Poetics, has also its significance in some systems of philosophy; and the idea of manifestation, implied in the *vyañjanā-vṛtti*, which consists not in the expression of something new but in the manifestation of something already existing, is not altogether unfamiliar to Indian speculation. A similar train of thought meets us in the Sāṃkhya idea of causation (i.117-18), in which the effect is not produced but is already comprehended in the cause and therefore can only become manifest. We find another analogy in the general idea of the Vedāntin's *mokṣa* or liberation, which consists of a condition, not to be produced but to be made manifest or realised, by the removal of enveloping obstacles.[1] The theory relating to the other two functions of words (*abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*), which play such an important part in poetic speculation, had already engaged the attention, not only of the philosophical grammarians, but also of the philosophers themselves, especially the Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṃsakas. The Naiyāyikas, for instance, hold that by denotation (*abhidhā*) of a word, we understand not only the individual *(vyakti)* but also the genus (*jāti*) and the quality (*guṇa*) [2] ; while the Mīmāṃsakas maintain that it signifies primarily *jāti*, and the *vyakti* is understood by implication (*ākṣepa*) through its inseparable con-

1 It is noteworthy that the *Vedānta-sūtra* makes a direct use of the term *rūpaka* in the technical sense (i. 4. 1), upon which Appayya Dīkṣita remarks : *Bhagavatā bādarāyaṇena 'nānumānikam apy ekeṣām iti cen na, śarīra-rūpaka-vinyasta-gṛhīter darśayati ca' iti śārīraka-sūtre rūpakam aṅgīkṛtam* (*Citr. mīm.* p. 54, ed. Kāvyamālā 1907). Cf. also *Vedānta-sūtra* iii. 2. 18.

2 *Nyāya-sūtra* ii. 2. 68.

nexion with *jāti*.[1] The *Nyāya-sūtra*, again, gives an exhaustive list of the relations through which a word may be used in a secondary sense, the idea of secondary sense, variously called *gauṇa*, *bhākta*, *lākṣaṇika* or *aupacārika artha*, having been tacitly admitted in almost all the systems.[2] Indeed, the theories of Poetics on these points are considerably mixed up with the doctrines of the Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā schools ; and even Bhāmaha's early work on Poetics devotes a considerable space to the discussion of the logic of poetry and the expressive functions of words.

We shall note in its proper place the influence of the Nyāya, Sāṃkhya and Vedānta doctrines on the poetic theory of Rasa ; but it may be pointed out here that the conception of *upamā* (here termed *upamāna*), by which is implied the general idea of analogy or comparison, plays an important part in the different philosophical systems in the discussion of the nature and criterion of knowledge. The *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, for instance, treats of three *pramāṇas* (v. 10, 14), viz., perception, (*dṛṣṭa* or *pratyakṣa*), inference (*liṅga* or *anumāna*) and analogy (*upamā* or *upamāna*). Kaṇāda and Kapila, no doubt, reject analogy as an independent and authoritative evidence, but the Naiyāyikas admit it, the purpose served by it being, in their opinion, the perception of a likeness in an object not perceived before. Vātsyāyana, commenting on i. 1. 3, defines it in terms almost similar to those used in the already quoted passage from the *Mahābhāṣya*[3] as *sāmīpya-mānam upamānam*. According to the Naiyāyikas, therefore, the object attained by analogy or *upamāna* consists in the recognition of the connexion between the appellation and the thing designated by it, and thus it forms the very foundation of expression. The idea of

1 *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* i. 3. 33ff.

2 *Vedānta-sūtra* ii. 3. 16, iii. 1. 7 ; *Nyāya-sūtra* ii. 2. 64, also i. 2. 11, 14, 15 ; *Sāṃkhya-sūtra* v. 67 etc.

3 P. 5, fn 11 above.

atideśa-vākya reappears as the means of analogical cognition, *i.e.*, as a helper of the actual perception of similarity between the well-known and the novel object at the first sight of the latter. The co-operation of the *upamāna* is also maintained to be essential in syllogistic reasoning, where it appears in the form of the syllogistic factor, called *upanaya* (i. 1. 32) or statement of the minor premise. A relic of this idea of *upamāna* survives in Poetics in the treatment of Bhoja (*Sk* iii.50), who distinguishes the figure *upamā* from the figure *upamāna*, although this view finds no supporter except Appayya Dīkṣita, who adopts *upamāna* as a separate poetic figure.[1] It is needless to dilate more on this point; but the idea of *upamāna*, together with that of *atideśa*, is similarly dealt with by the Mīmāṃsakas. They, however, consider that the *upamāna* refers to an object, already familiar to us, as being similar to another object which is seen for the first time; or in the words of Upavarṣa quoted by Śabarasvāmin, the *upamāna* or analogy, being similarity, produces an idea respecting an object that is not present, just as the sight of a *gavaya* revives the memory of a cow.[2]

(5)

Although these speculations have an indirect bearing on Poetics and might have suggested and helped to develop some of its fundamental theories, they cannot be taken as a definite basis of any deductions as to the antiquity of the discipline itself. It is striking indeed that we have no direct or indirect reference to Poetics as a Śāstra in early texts, although at the end of the 9th century Rājaśekhara speaks of a tradition which makes it the seventh *aṅga*. Poetics is omitted in the

1 *Kuvalay*. ed. N. S. P. 1913 p. 174. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa takes it as included in the figure *upamā* itself, and Vāmana appears to deal with one of its varieties (viz. *ananubhūta-viṣaya*) as an instance of what he calls *tattvākhyānopamā* or descriptive simile (iv. 2. 7).

2 *upamānam api sādṛśyam a-sannikṛṣṭe'rthe buddhim utpādayati, yathā gavaya-darśanaṃ go-smaraṇam*, on i. 1. 15.

enumeration of the different branches of study in the well-known passage in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 1. 2. 4, ed. Böhtlingk). Āpastamba (ii. 4, 11), speaks of the usual six *aṅgas*, but Yājñavalkya (i. 3) enumerates in all fourteen Śāstras, to which the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* adds four more. But in them Poetics is not mentioned at all. In a similar list in the *Lalita-vistara*[1], there is a reference to *kāvya-karaṇa-grantha* and *nāṭya*, which may be taken to imply Poetics and Dramaturgy respectively; but the designation 'Alaṃkāra' is not met with until we come to *Śukra-nīti* which includes it, in company with Artha-Śāstra, Kāma-śāstra and Śilpa-śāstra, among thirty-two different Śāstras. It has been pointed out by Rhys Davids[2] that in the old Pāli texts, *Aṅguttara* (i. 72, iii. 107) and *Saṃyukta* (i. 38, ii, 267), there are references to a similar study. These passages are interesting historically as being opposed to the science, but they do not expressly or by implication mention it as Alaṃkāra-śāstra.[3]

It seems likely, therefore, that Poetics as a technical discipline must have been of comparatively late origin, and probably began to develop in the first few centuries of the Christian era.[4] With the flourishing of Sanskrit learning and literature in the 4th and 5th centuries under the Gupta emperors, its development probably proceeded apace.

1 Ed. Lefmann i, p. 156.

2 In a letter to the present writer dated 24. 2. 1921. Cf. Wijesekera in *IHQ*, xvii, pp. 196f.

3 In Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* there is a chapter devoted to the procedure of writing *śāsanas*, where mention is made of *artha-krama*, *paripūrṇatā*, *mādhurya*, *audārya*, and *spaṣṭatva* as excellences which should be attained. These may correspond to the Guṇas defined in earlier Alaṃkāra-works, but perhaps they represent the common-sense view of the matter.

4 Patañjali refers to a large number of poetical works (ed. Kielhorn i, 283, 340, 426, 444; ii 34, 102, 119, 167, 313, 315; iii 143, 338 etc.), which fact apparently indicates a considerable poetical activity in his age, preluding a systematic investigation of poetic principles; but there is no reference to Alaṃkāra literature in his time.

Bühler's epigraphical researches[1] have confirmed the indication, first given by Lassen, regarding the development of Sanskrit *kāvya*-style in this period, and it may be taken as the prelude to a rhetorical activity which bore rich fruit in the 8th and 9th centuries in systematic investigations of poetic principles. His examination of the early inscriptions not only proves the existence of a body of highly elaborate prose and metrical writings in the *kāvya*-style during the first five centuries A.D., but it also establishes the presumption that most of these *praśasti*-writers were "acquainted with the rules of Indian poetics".[2] Bühler attempts to show that the manner in which these writers conform to the rules of Alaṃkāra, crystallised in the oldest available manuals like those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, would go to indicate "the existence of an Alaṃkāra-śāstra or some theory of poetic art".[3]

From this period of the time, we get more or less definite indications of the existence of doctrines of Poetics in the Kāvya-literature itself. In the two earlier Epics, no doubt, some of the more general terms of Alaṃkāra (like *upamā, kāvya, nāṭaka, kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*) are used, but no chronological conclusion is safe from the admittedly composite character of the present-day texts. But in the *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghoṣa, as Cowell notes, we have the use of common

1 *Die Indischen Inschriften*, trans. *IA* xiii, 1913, pp. 29f.

2 *Ibid*, p. 146.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 243. This conclusion is, to some extent, supported by a passage in the Girnar inscription itself (2nd century A. D.), which contains a reference to "prose and verse embellished (with poetic figures) and rendered attractive by poetic conventions and expressions which are clear, light, pleasing, varied and charming" (*sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabda-samayodārālaṃkṛta-gadya-padya*), *EI* viii, p. 44. The Sphuṭa, Madhura, Kānta and Citra qualities may correspond to Prasāda, Mādhurya, Kānti and other excellences discussed, e.g. by Daṇḍin. The inscription itself is written in prose having long compounds, and contains alliteration, repetition of sounds and other tricks in the approved style.

poetic figures like *upamā*, *utprekṣā* and *rūpaka*, as well as of elaborate ones like *yathā-saṃkhya* and *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* in an ingenious way, which presumably betrays an acquaintance with the teachings of Poetics.[1] The very first verse uses the word *upamā* in a somewhat technical sense, and we have also in iii. 51 the use of the term *rasāntara* to indicate a counter-emotion which cancels an already prevailing one. Aśvaghoṣa uses the terms *hāva* and *bhāva* (iv. 12) in the sense they have in dramaturgic Rasa-systems. Cowell, therefore, is justified in remarking that a peculiar interest attaches to such poems "from their importance in establishing Prof. Bühler's views as to the successful cultivation, in Northern India, of artificial poetry and rhetoric—*kāvya* and *alaṃkāra* —in the early centuries of our era." This remark applies with greater force to the works of Kālidāsa, which appear with all the polish and perfection imparted to them by a trained and careful artist. To the later theorists they supply an inexhaustible store-house of quotations for the illustration of different poetic figures, expressions and principles. This conscious employment of varied and elaborate poetic figures and general observance of poetic rules in these early Kāvya-poets are not without their significance, and we may reasonably presume from them a general diffusion of the knowledge of Poetics in this age.

The same tendency towards artificial or factitious composition is shown also in the prose romances of Subandhu and Bāṇa, Subandhu prides himself on his skill in the use of *śleṣa* in every letter of his composition,[2] and his *Vāsavadattā* justifies this boast as a *tour de force* of extraordinary verbal jugglery. In the work itself Subandhu speaks of

1 E. H. Johnston in his revised ed. of the work (Punjab Univ. Publication, Calcutta 1936) appears to agree with this view (Pt. ii, Introd. p. lxxxix f).

2 *pratyakṣara-śleṣamaya-prapañca-vinyāsa-vaidagdhya-nidhiṃ prabandham / sarasvatī-datta-vara-prasādaś cakre subandhuḥ sujanaika-bandhuḥ*, ed. Srirangam, 1906, p. 357-8.

poetic compositions adorned with poetic figures like *śleṣa*, divided into *ucchvāsas*,[1] and displaying skill in the employment of *vaktra* metre. He specifies also two important poetic figures, viz., *utprekṣā* and *ākṣepa*.[2] Equally definite is Bāṇa's references to rhetoric in his mention, in one of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī*, of the poetic figures *upamā*, *jāti* (=*svabhāvokti*), *dīpaka* and *śleṣa* as well as of poetic *rasa* and *śayyā*. Bāṇa also refers to verbal puzzles, such as *akṣara-cyuta*, *bindumatī*, *gūḍha-caturthapāda* and *prahelikā*,[3] and he seems to be aware of the Ālaṃkārika distinction between *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*.[4] In *Harṣa-carita* iii, para 5, Bāṇa refers to *Bharata-mārga-bhajana-gītam*, and in ii. 4 speaks of actors acting in the Ārabhaṭi Vṛtti (discussed by Bharata xx. 54 f),

(6)

From all these indications the inference is not improbable that with the growth of a body of highly finished prose and poetical literature, the science of Poetics or at least the

1 Cf. Bhāmaha i. 25-26; Daṇḍin i. 26-27.

2 *satkavi-kāvya-racanām ivālaṃkāra-prasādhitām*, p. 303; *dīrghocchvāsa-racanākulaṃ su-śleṣa-vaktra-ghaṭanā-paṭu sat-kāvya-viracanam iva*, pp. 238-39; *utprekṣākṣepau kāvyālaṃkāreṣu* p. 146. The reading of the first of these passages in the Calcutta edition is *bauddhasaṃgatim ivālaṃkāra-bhūṣitām*, and the commentary of Śivarāma (18th century) explains it as *alaṃkāro nāma dharmakīrti-kṛto grantha-viśeṣaḥ*. No work of Dharmakīrti's called *Bauddhasaṃgatyalaṃkāra* has yet been found. Undue reliance need not be placed on an unauthenticated statement of a very late commentator; and Lévi is probably correct in denying that Subandhu makes any allusion to Dharmakīrti's literary activity (*Bulletin de l' E'cole d'Extrême Orient* 1903, p. 18).

3 ed. Peterson, p. 7. Subandhu (p. 146) refers to Śṛṅkhalā-bandha.

4 *Ibid*, p. 7 and *Harṣa-c*. p. 7. —On the meaning of the word Alaṃkāra see J. Gonda in *Volume of Eastern and Ind. Studies* presented to F. W. Thomas (Bombay 1939) pp. 97-114; but this has hardly any direct connexion with the meaning it bears in Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature. A similar attempt is made by A. B. Keith in *Commemorative Essays* presented to K. B. Pathak (Poona BORS, 1934), pp. 311-14.

investigation of rhetorical rules made considerable progress by the end of the sixth century A. D. The earliest known writers on Poetics, who lived somewhat later, themselves refer to still earlier authorities. Thus, Bhāmaha speaks of Medhāvin and others, whom he cites and whose work he avowedly utilises. Similarly Daṇḍin refers to earlier writings, and one of his commentators mentions in this connexion two theorists before Daṇḍin, viz. Kāśyapa and Vararuci, who are otherwise unknown to us as writers on Alaṃkāra. Apart from this fact of their own citation of earlier views, it cannot also be maintained with any cogency that the relatively developed style and treatment of even these early writers on Poetics could have been evolved by themselves in the absence of earlier tentative works, the existence of which may be presumed, for instance, by the employment by these writers, of certain technical words and formulas (e.g. *vakrokti*, *rīti*, *guṇa* etc) without a previous explanation.

As a cognate branch of study, however, which probably supplied Poetics with a model and the poetic theory with the important content of Rasa, Dramaturgy (Nāṭya-śāstra) appears to have established itself a little earlier. Compartively early texts, both brahmanical and buddhistic, speak of some kind of dramatic representation; and we have a very early reference in Pāṇini to Kṛśāśva and Śilālin as authors of *naṭa-sūtras* (iv. 3. 110-11).[1] The early existence of treatises on the dramatic art is also evidenced by the fact that all the early authors on Poetics, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, omit a discussion of this subject and refer their readers for information to such specialised works. The older specimens of these are perhaps lost ; but Bharata's *Nāṭya-śastra*, which is cited as the oldest known and most authoritative, cannot possibly be put, even in its present version, at a date lower

1 It is interesting to note that both Amara and Śāśvata in their lexicons do not explain the technical terms of Alaṃkāra, although they have distinct references to dramaturgic technicalities and to Rasa.

than the 6th century A. D. Bharata himself, however, devotes a whole chapter to the treatment of poetical *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* as decorative devices of dramatic speech. It seems, therefore, that the study of Alaṃkāra was older than Bharata ; and the tradition of opinion, followed by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, may have been post-Bharata in date, but was probably pre-Bharata in substance. Indeed, the different schools of opinion, represented by the *alaṃkāra- rīti-* and *dhvani*-theories, probably flourished some centuries before their views became crytallised in the present works of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra respectively, none of whom, as we shall see, can be taken as the absolute founder of the system he represents. This process of crystallisation must have covered a tentative stage whose productions, if they had been extant today, would have shown Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra in the making. We cannot, therefore, start with the works of these writers as the absolute beginnings of the science, although with them we enter upon the historic and most creative stage of its existence. Taking this fact into consideration, we may presume without dogmatising that the Alaṃkāra-śāstra started as a separate technical discipline from about the commencement of the Christian era and probably flourished in a relatively developed form in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. The course of this development is unfortunately hidden from us, until it emerges in a more or less self-conscious form in some chapters of Bharata and in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Bhāmaha.

CHAPTER II

BHARATA

(1)

Although Indian tradition glorifies Bharata, the reputed author of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, with the title of *muni* and places him in a mythic age, the widest possible divergence of opinion exists among scholars as to his actual date ; and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.[1] That he is the oldest writer on dramaturgy, music and kindred subjects, whose work has survived, is generally admitted ; but at the same time the question arises as to how far the extant version of his work represents his original text. Abhinavagupta in the second introductory verse of his commentary on Bharata informs us that Bharata's text, as known to him, consisted of thirty-six chapters (*ṣaṭtriṃśakaṃ bharata-sūtram idam*) ; and he is aware of two recensions (*dvividhaḥ pāṭho dṛśyate* on ch. xv) of some chapters. A comparison of the different printed editions mentioned in our Bibliography below, as well as available MSS, would go to show that they do not agree about the number and sequence of chapters, nor about the number of verses in each chapter. The text is, thus, very uncertain and unsatisfactory,[2]

1 Regnaud in *Annales du Mus. Guimet* ii p. 66, also introd. to Grosset's ed. ; Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, pp. 763f; P. R. Bhandarkar in *IA* xli, pp. 157f ; H. P. Sastri in *JASB*, v. p. 352f, and *Cat. Sansk. MSS ASB*, vi 1931, p. clxxviii ; S. Lévi in *IA* xxxiii, p. 63 ; Sten Konow in *Ind. Drama* p. 2 ; P. V. Kane in *IA*, xlvi (1917), pp. 171 83, and *HSP* pp. 39f ; Manomohan Ghosh in *JDL* xxv, 1934, pp. 59.

2 For instance, Deccan College MS no. 68 (or 69) of 1873-74 contains 38 chapters.—For some of these discrepancies see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 10-14. It should be noted that neither the printed text nor any MS contains the full text of Abhinava's commentary. Abhinavagupta in many places refers to the views of others with *kecit* or *anye*, and discusses various readings (pp. 50, 93, 96, 226, 241, 269, 340 etc).

It is clear from these indications that it had been subjected to considerable rehandlings in later times before it assumed its present shape, and this fact has an important bearing on the date of the supposed author.

There are several passages in the present-day text which probably throw some light on this process of gradual interpolation and recasting. The curious colophon at the end in the Kāvyamālā edition, which appears to have puzzled its editor, designates the latter portion of the work as *Nandi-bharata*.[1] Rice mentions[2] a work called *Nandi-bharata* on music ; while a chapter, apparently from a work on dramatic gesture, is referred to as *nandibharatokta saṃkara-hastādhyāya* in a manuscript of a treatise on music and Abhinaya, noticed in *Madras Catalogue* xii, no. 13009. These works, probably late compilations, are named after Nandi or Nandikeśvara, whom tradition acknowledges as an ancient authority on music, erotics and histrionic art. A Nandin is quoted by Vātsyāyana (i.1. 8). Aufrecht is inclined to identify him with Nandikeśvara cited as a writer on Erotics in the *Pañca-sāyaka* i. 13 and *Rati-rahasya* i. 5.[3] Nānyadeva mentions him as Nandin. Again, a work on histrionic art, attributed to Nandikeśvara, is known as *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* [4] ; as this work refers to Bharata and his views several times (e.g. st. 12, 128, 149, 159, 162) it must be a later compilation. Rājaśekhara, as we have seen above, mentions Nandikeśvara as a writer on Rasa. But Nandikeśvara is better known as an authority on music and is cited as one of his sources by Śārṅgadeva (13th century) in his *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (i. 1. 17) and by his commentator Kallinātha (p.47). Besides the references given

1 *samāptaś cāyaṃ [granthaḥ] nandibharata-saṃgīta-pustakam.*

2 *Mysore and Coorg Catalogue*, p. 292.

3 *Pañca-sāyaka*, ed. Sadananda Sastri Ghiladia, Lahore, 1921; *Rati-rahasya*, ed. *ibid* Lahore, no date. See Schmidt, *Ind. Erotik*, 1911, pp. 46, 59.

4 Ed. Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta 1934 (about 330 verses) ; trs. A. Coomaraswamy and G. K. Duggirala, Cambridge Mass. 1917.

above, works on music attributed to Nandikeśvara are: *Nandikeśvara-mate Tālādhyāya* (Weber 1729), and *Bharatārṇava*[1] supposed to be a condensed version of Nandikeśvara's work by Sumati, dealing with dramatic gestures and Tāla. A *Nāṭyārṇava* of Nandikeśvara is cited in Allarāja's *Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā.* Abhinavagupta (comm. on Bharata, ed. GOS, ch.xxix) says that he had not himself seen (*sākṣān na dṛṣṭam*) Nandikeśvara's work, but relying on Kīrtidhara (*yat tu kīrti-dhareṇa darśitam......tat-pratyayāt*) he would briefly refer to Nandikeśvara-mata. But he knows (p. 171) a work called Nandi-mata from which he quotes a verse on the Aṅgahāra called *recita* or *recaka* Elewhere he tells us that by Nandi-mata is understood the views of Taṇḍu ; for the names, Nandi and Taṇḍu are, in his opinion, identical. The designation, therefore, of the latter part of Bharata's text, a part of which deals, among other things, with music probably implies that it was compiled or recast at some later period in accordance with the views of Nandikeśvara.

Similarly, we hear of a work called *Mataṅga-bharata*[2] (of uncertain date) by Lakṣmaṇa Bhāskara, which apparently sets forth the views of Mataṅga. This is another old authority cited by Abhinavagupta (as Mataṅga-muni) who quotes (ch. xxx) two of his Anuṣṭubh verses ; by Śarṅgadeva and his conementator (on i. 3. 24-25 ; i. 4. 9 ; i. 8. 19 etc.); by Śiṅgabhūpāla (i. 51) ; and by Aruṇācalanātha on *Raghu* (p. 100) with *tathā ca mātaṅge.* A work called *Bṛhad-deśī* ascribed to Mataṅga has been published[3].

1 In *Catalogue* of *MSS, BORI*, xii, pp. 460-63 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 13006-08.

2 The term *bharata* appears in course of time to mean the dramatic or histrionic art generally, as it also came to mean the actor.—Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* expressly refers to Ādi-bharata by whom he might have meant our author, in contradistinction to these later Bharatas. On this question see S. K. De, The Problem of Bharata and Ādi-Bharata in *Our Heritage* i, pp. 193-207 (reprinted in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 156-76).

3 In Trivandrum Skt. Ser. 1928.

The last chapter of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, to which the colophon mentioned above is appended, contains a prediction that the rest of the topic will be treated in detail by Kohala[1] (who apparently belonged to the same school),[2] plainly shewing that the rewriting of the portion in question was done some time after Kohala, as well as Nandikeśvara, had spoken on the subject. Nandikeśvara's date is unknown ; but Kohala, side by side with Bharata, is recognised as an ancient authority as early as the end of the 8th century A.D. in Dāmodara-gupta's *Kuṭṭanī-mata* (*śl*. 81). It is interesting to note in this connexion that Abhinavagupta, commenting on Bharata vi. 10, says that although Nāṭya is usually said to consist of five *aṅgas*, the enumeration of eleven *aṅgas* in the text is in accordance with the view of Kohala and others,[3] to whose opinions the commentator makes many other incidental references mostly on the topics of Nāṭya and Geya.[4] Kohala is cited also by Maṇikya-candra (p. 65) on Mammaṭa, by Śārṅgadeva (i. 1. 15), by Śāradātanaya who frequently quotes his views (pp. 204, 210, 236, 245, 251), by the authors of the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* pp. 25, 38, 132), while Śiṅgabhūpāla (i. 51) acknowledges him as an authority on drama and allied arts. Hemacandra, with reference to the classification of the drama, says (p. 329 ; also p. 325): *prapañcas tu bharata-kohalādi-śāstrebhyo'-vagantavyaḥ.* Kohala is credited by most writers on Dramaturgy with the introduction of Uparūpaka. Mallinātha on *Kumāra* vii. 91 quotes Kohala on the subject of Tāla. A work on music called *Tāla-lakṣaṇa*, probably a late compila-

1 *Śeṣaṃ prastāra-tantreṇa kohalaḥ kathayiṣyati*, xxxvii. 18.

2 See xxxvii. 24.

3 *Abhinaya-trayaṃ gītātodye ceti pañcāṅgaṃ nāṭyam........ anena tu ślokena kohalādi matenaikādaśāṅgatvam ucyate* (on vi. 10).

4 For references see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, p. 24, 54-55. See also his Fragments of Kohala in *Proc. A-I.O.C.* (Patna), 1930, pp. 577-80.—Abhinavagupta, however, holds that the entire text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* as known to him was composed by Bharata himself.

tion, is attributed to him,[1] and a *Kohalīya Abhinaya-śāstra*,[2] purporting to embody his views, is also known. A work, called *Kohala-rahasya*[3] in at least thirteen chapters, dealing with musical modes, is ascribed to the sage Kohala (described as son of Bharata) who reveals the subject on being requested by Mataṅga. The description that he was son of Bharata is perhaps due to the indication[4] in *Nāṭya-śāstra* i. 26 (ed. Chowkhamba 1929, ed. GOS, Baroda 1956; but not included in the NSP ed. 1894) that Kohala, along with Śāṇḍilya, Dhūrtila and others, are spoken of as sons of Bharata. Since Abhinavagupta says (*Abh. bh.* p. 25) that Kohala describes the verse *jitam uḍupatinā* from *Ratnāvalī* (i. 5) as an example of Nāndī in accordance with the rules of Bharata, P. V. Kane is of opinion that Kohala was later than *Ratnāvalī*, *i.e.* than 650 A.D. But this conclusion cannot be very well reconciled with the fact that Bharata and Kohala are already recognised as *ancient* authorities in the 8th century A.D. From Abhinavagupta's references and citations Kohala's lost work appears to have been mostly in verse.

A work on music, entitled *Dattila-kohalīya*, is mentioned by Burnell (p. 606), apparently a compendium of the opinions of Kohala and Dattila. The latter, whose name occurs variously as Dantila and Dhūrtila, is mentioned by Dāmodara-gupta (*śl.* 123) and is cited as an old authority by Abhinava-gupta (as Dattilācārya, chiefly on music) who quotes (on Bharata xxviii, also p. 205) a verse of his in Anuṣṭubh; by Śārṅgadeva (i. 1. 16) and his commentator Kallinātha (p. 49);

1 *IOC* 3025, 3089; *Madras Cat.* with a Telugu comm. 12992.

2 *Madras Cat.* 12989. with a Telugu comm.

3 *Madras Trm.* I, C, 787 (the 13th chapter only).

4 The editions (GOS) of M. R. Kavi, and Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. include this verse (i. 26), but they note that it does not occur in the MSS consulted. It is, however, commented upon by Abhinava-gupta (p. 18)—Kohala's views are referred to by him p. 25, 103, 173, 182, 266 etc.

by Siṅgabhūpāla (i. 51), as well as in various works on music. A work called *Dattila* on music is also published.[1]

In the same way Śāṇḍilya is mentioned as Nāṭya-śāstra-kāra by Śiṅgabhūpāla (i. 51). Kāśyapa or Kaśyapa as a *muni* who preceded Bharata and his opinion on Rāgas are cited by Abhinavagupta (on xxix, p. 394), as well as by Nānyadeva[2]. Śātakarṇi is cited as a writer on dramaturgy by Sāgaranandin (on Sūtradhāra, l. 1101). Viśākhila is also cited as an authority on Kalā-śāstra by Vāmana (i. 3. 7), by Abhinavagupta (on xxviii, xxix. 31-33) and by Nānyadeva as an authority on music. Parāśara or Pārāśara, mentioned by Rājaśekhara, is also cited as a Bharata-putra in *Nāṭya-śāstra* (i. 32) ; his views on Nāndī and Toṭaka are quoted by Sāgaranandin (ll. 1091, 2770 3202-3). Similarly, another Bharata-putra is Nakhakuṭṭa, who is also cited by Sāgaranandin (ll. 2668, 2994). Even the mythical Nārada is regarded as propounder of Gāndarva-veda ; and the *Bhāva-prakāśana* says that Nārada taught Bharata the subject of evolution of Rasa, having learnt it from Brahmā himself.

From these indications it is likely that between Bharata's original text and its existing version, there came "Kohala and others" whose views found their way into the compendium, which goes by the name of Bharata and which indiscriminating posterity took as genuine and unquestionable. The text-problem of the *Nāṭya-śāstra,* therefore, cannot be solved until the works of Kohala and other early writers, some of which appear to have been available to Abhinavagupta, are recovered.

The process of incorporation must have occurred very early and was apparently complete by the end of the 8th century, when the work assumed more or less its present shape. Udbhaṭa, about this time, actually appropriated

1 In Trivandrum Skt. Series, 1930.

2 On Kāśyapa see below under Daṇḍin. Abhinavagupta's reference to Kāśyapācārya at p. 239 shows that his work was, at least partly, in verse.

(iv. 4) the first-half of the verse vi. 15 of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, and makes only enough verbal change in its second half to admit Śānta as the ninth Rasa in the category of eight recognised by Bharata.[1] Abhinavagupta, who commented on the existing text at the end of the 10th century, himself mentions several other previous commentators, of whom Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka in all probability belonged to the 8th and 9th centuries. These indications will make it clear at any rate that the text existed in its present form in the 8th century A.D., if not earlier.

(2)

We have, on the other hand, the tradition as well as the statement of Bhavabhūti, who refers to the mythical Bharata as the *tauryatrika-sūtra-kāra*[2], that Bharata's work existed originally in the *sūtra*-form ; and this is also made likely by Pāṇini's early reference to such *naṭa-sūtras* in his own time. Reminiscences of the *sūtra*-style may indeed be presumed in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* vi and vii, which deal with *rasa* and *bhāva* ;

1 It should be noted that Abhinavagupta immediately after the passage cited (see p. 21, fn 3 above) goes on to say: *anena tu ślokena kohalādi-matenaikādaśāṅgatvam ucyate, na tu bharate, tatsaṃgṛhītasyāpi punar atroddeśāt, nirdeśe caitat krama-vyatyāsanād ity udbhaṭaḥ neti bhaṭṭa lollaṭaḥ ......vayaṃ tvatra tattvam agre vitaniṣyāma ity āstāṃ tāvat* (on Bh. vi. 10). This difference of opinion between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa on a question of textual interpretation supports the conclusion that Udbhaṭa was probably familiar with the text of Bharata as Abhinava knew it and as it has come down to us. The tradition is recorded by Śārṅgadeva (i. 1. 19) that Udbhaṭa was one of the early commentators on Bharata. Abhinava himself refers to Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as principal commentators whose views on Rasa he thought worth refuting in detail. Śārṅgadeva omits from his list Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka but adds Udbhaṭa. as well as Kīrtidhara who is earlier than Abhinava having been cited by him (see above p. 20). For other reputed commentators on Bharata see below.

2 *Uttara-carita, ad* iv. 22 (ed N. S. P. 1906., p. 120). Abhinavagupta in his commentary refers to Bharata's work as a Sūtra-work.

for in ch. vi we find a dictum[1] on the genesis of Rasa, put in concise form of a *sūtra*, to the elucidation of which, after the manner of a *bhāṣya* or *vṛtti*, the rest of the chapter (written in prose with verse-quotations) is apparently devoted. It should also be noticed that a preliminary explanation is added at commencement of the chapter to reconcile this curious portion of the text with the rest of the work. Bharata, we are told, being requested by the sages, explains the characteristics of a *saṃgraha*, *kārikā*. and *nirukta*, and incidentally gives an illustration of a *sūtra-grantha* by putting a part of the text in that form. This discussion of the nature of a *saṃgraha*, *kārikā*, *nirukta* and *sūtra* would not have been relevant to the subject in hand but for this somewhat flimsy explanation, which, however, affords a device, far-fetched as it is, to introduce into the *kārikā*-text some vestiges of the older *sūtra*-form. It is not maintained that a *sūtra*-text is necessarily older than a text in the *kārikā*-form ; for in our *sūtra*-text itself there are quotations in the *vṛtti* of *anubaddha* or *anuvaṃśya ślokas*[2], betokening the existence of earlier teachings on the subject, and disproving at the same time the orthodox belief that Bharata was the earliest teacher of the Nāṭya-veda. But if the tradition that Bharata's original work was composed in the *sūtra*-form be accepted, then this portion of the existing version may be presumed to have been a survival of the original form. Similar fragments of the *sūtra-bhāṣya* style

1 *tatra vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṃyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ*, ed. Grosset p. 87, 1. 8 ; ed. Kāvyamālā p. 62, 1. 6. This dictum is cited as a *Sūtra* by all later writers, including Abhinavagupta and presumably his predecessors Lollaṭa and others. For other instances of the Sūtra-bhāṣya style in the work see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 15-16.—The references to the text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* here are generally to the Kāvyamālā ed.

2 The *anubaddha* verses, apparently of earlier writers, are those related to the subject in hand. By *anuvaṃśya* verses (verses of this kind occur also in the *Mahābhārata*) are meant, according to Abhinavagupta, those handed down traditionally from teacher to pupil (*anuvaṃśa-bhavaṃ śiṣyācārya-paraṃparāsu vartamānam*) vi, p. 25-26.

are seen in ch. xxviii-xxxi in such passages as beginning with *ātodya-vidhim idānīṃ vakṣyāmaḥ* (xxviii. 1); also in xxxiii. 212 *vādya-vidhānaṃ vakṣyāmi*; in xxiv. 93 *atra sūtra-dhāra-guṇān vakṣyāmaḥ* etc.

If we get the lower limit to the date of Bharata's work at 8th century A.D., the other limit is very difficult to settle, when we consider that there were apparently two versions, either independent or one based on the other. But it is not clear what weight should be placed on the testimony of Bhavabhūti; for if in the first quarter of the 8th century Bharata was known to him as a *sūtra-kāra*, it is not intelligible how at the end of the same century Udbhaṭa makes use of Bharata's *kārika*, and Lollaṭa and others, immediately following, apparently comment on the same text. The short space of less than half a century is not enough to obliterate all signs of the older version and replace it entirely with a new *kārikā*-text which, to all intents and purposes, is taken as the only authoritative version in later times, and in which, strangely enough, we find still lingering traces of the earlier *sūtra*-text. The only possible explanation of Bhavabhūti's reference is that the historical Bharata, who was the *sūtra-kāra* on the three arts of dancing, singing and instrumental music, had already in Bhavabhūti's time become identified with the mythical Bharata; for the passage in the *Uttara-carita* gives an obviously mythical account, through the mouth of Lava, that *bhagavān* Vālmīki, having composed his story of Rāma, gave it to *bhagavān* Bharata (the *sūtra-kāra* on the three arts and apparently the *nāṭyācārya* of the gods) who revised it and got it acted through celestial nymphs.

But this does not exhaust all our textual difficulties. Independent prose-passages also survive, in the midst of *kārikās*, in chs. xvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxi and xxxiv which, forming an integral part of the text, cannot be taken as mere *vṛtti*, but which resemble, in some respects, the prose Smṛti-fragments or more closely, the prose-fragments in the apocryphal *Bhela-saṃhitā*. Again, the *anubaddha* or *anuvaṃśya*

ślokas, referred to above, correspond to the *parikara-* or *saṃgraha-ślokas* in later writings, and certainly indicate the probability of earlier speculations on the subject. These verses are generally taken from two distinct sources ; for some of them are in *āryā*, while others are in *anuṣṭubh* metre. On the Āryā-verses Abhinava remarks (on vi. 85, p. 328) ; *tā etā hy āryā eka-praghaṭṭakatayā pūrvācāryar lakṣaṇatvena paṭhitāḥ, muninā tu sukha-saṃgrahāya yathā-sthānaṃ viniveśitāḥ*. In his opinion former teachers composed these Āryās and Bharata inserted them in proper places.

From the facts adduced above, we are confronted with the problem of the inter-relation of these apparent survivals in our text, which contains vestiges of (1) independent prose-fragments (2) *anuvaṃśya ślokas* in *āryā* and *anuṣṭubh* metres and (3) passages in *sūtra-bhāṣya* style, as well as (4) the present systematic *kārikās*. Space is too limited to dilate upon the question here, but an examination of these passages will reveal that these different styles do not possibly belong to the same period, but they probably indicate several stages in the growth of particular *forms* of composition of dramaturgic works in general, each stage betraying its own partiality towards a particular form. Taking the present *kārikā*-text as the starting point, we find in it traces of earlier passages in *sūtra-bhāṣya* style, of which it is presumably a recast. In the *sūtra-bhāṣya*, again, there are fragments of metrical passages which indicate, in their turn, another and still earlier *kārikā*-stage ; while the independent prose-fragments perhaps represent the earliest form taken by such technical treatises. We can, therefore, distinguish in their order of development (1) a stage of prose-treatises (2) a tentative period of *kārikā*-writing (3) the *sūtra-bhāṣya* stage and (4) the final period of compilation of compendiums, which reverts again to the *kārikā*-form.[1] This

1 This conclusion does not apply to the more or less imitative periods after the 10th century in which we find the *kārikā*- and the *sūtra*-style, existing almost side by side.

conclusion perhaps finds some support in the repetition, more or less, of a similar phenomenon in the sphere of the Dharma-śāstra, Artha-śāstra, Vaidya-śāstra and probably Kāma-śāstra. The loss of earlier treatises makes it difficult to dogmatise ; but if this conclusion is correct generally, then our text may be supposed to contain remnants of all these styles and forms. It is not argued here that Bharata's work itself passed through all these stages or forms, from a rudimentary prose-version into a systematic metrical manual[1] ; but our text contains enough to betray the existence of previous speculations in prose and in verse, as well as indicate the fact that it might have itself been once written in the *sūtra-bhāṣya* form, which was recast, with considerable additions from other sources, into a convenient metrical compendium.

(3)

Taking the substance of the work, apart from the vexing question of different versions, the portion of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which deals principally with music, has been conjectured[2] on internal evidence to have been compiled about the 4th century A.D. ; and it appears likely that the other portions were also put into their present shape about the same time. Pischel's argument, however, on the date of the work, derived from the reference to Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Bāhlikas (e.g. xxxii. 103, Ch. ed.) in a text of such composite character is of doubtful value in determining the question finally ; but

1 Kane believes it possible (*HSP*, p. 16) that the original nucleus of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* was in mixed prose and verse. He is also of opinion that the first five chapters were comparatively late additions. Abhinavagupta knows Bharata's text as consisting of 36 chapters, although he comments on the 37th ch. of what M. R. Kavi speaks of as the Northern recension (according to Kavi the Southern is the earlier text and consists of 36 chapters).

2 *IA* xii p. 158 f.

it perhaps makes it probable that the upper limit of its date cannot be put too early.

We are in a position, however, to infer that the substance of Bharata's work is probably much older than that of Bhāmaha,[1] who may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century. Bhāmaha, in his treatment of poetic figures (*kāvyālaṃkāras*), groups them in a curious but suggestive way, which probably indicates the different periods in the growth and multiplication of such figures.[2] At the outset, he names and defines only five poetic figures (ii. 4) recognised, as he says, by other writers, viz., *anuprāsa, yamaka, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *upamā*, This represents the first stage ; but in course of time, six other figures appear to have been added, and Bhāmaha mentions and deals with them next in ii. 66. Then he goes on to enumerate, two (or three, including *svabhāvokti*) more figures admitted by writers like Medhāvin (ii. 88), who also appears to have dealt with *upamā* etc. (ii. 40). Finally, Bhāmaha defines and illustrates a further long list of twenty-three more figures in a separate chapter (iii. 1-4). The differentiation and multiplication of poetic figures with the progress of speculation is a familiar fact in Alaṃkāra literature ; and the way in which Bhāmaha successively enumerates and groups these figures probably shows that to the original five mentioned by him at the outset, others were added in course of time as the study itself advanced. Now Bharata, in his treatment of Alaṃkāras names (xvi. 41) only four such figures known to him, viz., *yamaka, rūpaka, dīpaka* and *upamā*, These four in reality correspond to the five mentioned by Bhāmaha ; for *anuprāsa* may be taken as falling in the same class as *yamaka*, the one being *varṇābhyāsa* and the other *padābhyāsa*. At the same time

1 Besides showing himself conversant with some theory of Rasa (ii. 281, 283 f), Daṇḍin mentions the dramaturgic technical terms *saṃdhi, aṅga, vṛtti* and *lakṣaṇa* and refers to *āgamāntara* for their discussion (ii. 366).

2 Cf Jacobi in *Sb. der Preuss, Akad.* xxiv, 1922, pp. 220 f.

the very fact that *anuprāsa* is thus differentiated from *yamaka* may indicate further refinement in these poetic figures. It is clear, therefore, that Bharata's work belonged to a period when the number of figures had not yet multiplied ; and one, if not more, stages must have intervened between it and Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* in which the number had already swelled into nearly forty in all.[1] To this intermediate stage belonged Medhāvin and others, whom Bhāmaha cites, and the loss of whose work makes it difficult for us to trace the development thus indicated by Bhāmaha.

There are also indications that Bharata's teachings are probably older than Kālidāsa, who generally adheres to Bharata's dramaturgic prescriptions.[2] Kālidāsa refers, in *Vikramorvaśīya* ii. 18, to Bharata as the mythical *nāṭyācārya*. In *Raghu* xix. 36, again, Kālidāsa speaks of *aṅga-sattva-vacanāśraya nṛtya* which, as Mallinātha rightly points out, agrees with Bharata's dictum[3] : *sāmānyābhinayo nāma jñeyo*

1 By the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, Bhaṭṭi illustrates as many as 38 different species of poetic figures, indicating that the process of refinement had proceeded very far indeed even in his time.

2 The discovery of the drâmas, ascribed to Bhāsa, does not invalidate this argument, for it is possible that they follow a tradition or a system of opinion of which all traces are now lost ; and the date of Bhāsa itself is uncertain.

3 The *Amara-kośa* only mentions *āṅgika* and *sāttvika abhinaya*. This lexicon, which is said to have been translated into Chinese about 561-66 A. D. (see Nandargikar's introd. to *Meghadūta*, 1894, p. 73), admits after Bharata the eight Rasas, and explains some of the dramaturgic technicalities, giving three synonyms of the actor (*śāilālin, kṛśāvin and bharata*) from the names of the three well-known teachers of dramaturgy. Pāṇini refers to the formation of the first two terms, but not that of the third ; but this silence of the grammarian does not prove anything. The Jaina *Aṇuogadāra-sutta* (ed. N. S. P. 1915, fol. 134-145, also quoted in Weber ii 2, pp. 701-02) which, Winternitz thinks, was probably put together by the middle of the 5th century, mentions nine Rasas ; and the enu-

vāg-aṅga-sattvajaḥ ; while in *Kumāra* vii. 91 mention is made of *saṃdhis*, as well as of *lalitāṅgahāra* mentioned in *Nāṭya-śāstra* xx. 17 (ed. Chowkhamba xxii. 17).

The lower limit of the date of Bharata's work, therefore, can be provisionally shifted back to the fourth or fifth century A.D., while it is almost certain that it existed in its present shape in the 8th century A.D.[1] The upper limit cannot be put too early, because of the mention of Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and other tribes, and probably does not go beyond the commencement of the Christian era ; but we have already pointed out (p. 28 above) that their mention in a composite text is hardly of a conclusive value. It is difficult to settle the relative age of the *sūtra-* and the *kārikā-*texts ; but if the tendency towards *sūtra-bhāṣya* style may be presumed to have been generally prevalent in the last few centuries B.C., then the presumed *sūtra-*text of Bharata belongs apparently to this period[2]. It was certainly much earlier than the present *kārikā-*text, in which Bharata is already a mythical sage as an expounder of the *nāṭya-veda*.

COMMENTATORS ON BHARATA

No commentatary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śastra* exists today except that of Abhinavagupta. But the names of some reputed

meration is interesting from the inclusion of *praśānta* (not mentioned by Bharata), apparently from religious motives.

1 With this view Kane (*HSP*, p. 19, 22) generally agrees.

2 It will be shewn later that the tradition that Bharata was the author of a *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*, which forms in substance of the *kārikā-*verses of Mammaṭa's *Kav. prak.*, is entirely erroneous, as is also the statement made use of by Lévi that these *kārikās* are abridged from the *Agni-purāṇa*. Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka* (959-60 A. D.) refers, indeed, to a *bharata-praṇīta kāvyādhyāya* (Peterson ii. p. 45) which, considering Somadeva's date, could not have alluded to this tradition of Bharata's authorship of Mammaṭa's *kārikās*, but possibly, from the term of reference, to ch. xvi of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which deals with *kāvya-lakṣaṇas*, *kāvyālaṃkāras* *kāvya-guṇas* and *kāvya-doṣas* as embellishments of dramatic speech.

as well as actual commentators on Bharata are known from Abhinavagupta,[1] Śārṅgadeva[2] and other writers. They are:

1. Mātṛguptācārya
2. Udbhaṭa
3. Lollaṭa
4. Śaṅkuka
5. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka
6. Harṣa
7. Kīrtidhara
8. Abhinavagupta
9. Nānyadeva.

We have also the views of several other writers cited by Abhinavagupta.[3] They are: Bhaṭṭa Yantra (on Nāṭya and Nṛtta p. 208), Priyātithi (on Lāsyāṅga), Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Sumanas (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Śaṃkara (Vṛtta-prakaraṇa) and Ghaṇṭaka (on Nāṭikā-bheda). Rāhula or Rāhala (pp. 115, 172, 197 etc), also mentioned by Śārṅgadeva (i.1.17), is quoted several times. As in one of his verses Bharata is named (*bharatenoditam*, Abh.bh. i, p. 72) he must have been, as most of the writers mentioned above, later than Bharata. From his name, as well as from Hemacandra (p. 316), who mentions him as Śākyācārya, he appears to have been a Buddhist teacher, whose view Hemacandra pointedly ignores. It cannot be determined if all these writers composed commentaries on the whole or a part of Bharata's work: but from the references it seems

1 See P. V. Kane, Gleanings from Abhinava-bhāratī in *K. B. Pathak Comm. Vol.* Poona 1934, pp. 385-400; V. Raghavan, Writers quoted in Abhinava-bhārati in *JOR*, vi, 1932, pp. 149 f, 199 f.

2 Śārṅgadeva mentions: *vyākhyātāro bhāratīye lollaṭodbhaṭa-śaṅkukāḥ / bhaṭṭābhinavaguptaś ca śrīmat-kīrtidharo'paraḥ.* He mentions Rāhula and Mātṛgupta elsewhere as two of his authorities, apparently on music.

3 The references to *Abhinava-bhāratī* by vols. and pages are to M. Ramkrishna Kavi's ed., Baroda 1926. Where the vol. is not indicated by a number but only by page, vol. i is meant.

that most of them wrote generally on music, and some specially on topics of dramaturgy as well.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta, Abhinava's Guru, and Utpaladeva, his Parama-guru, are frequently quoted in his commentary. Tauta is known as having written a work called *Kāvya-kautuka*, which is now lost ; on this work Abhinava appears to have written a Vivaraṇa (*Locana* p. 178). At the beginning of his commentary Abhinavagupta pays an elegant tribute to Tauta as having expounded to him the *Nāṭya-śastra*, and references[1] to Tauta's view on various topics confirm this. But it need not mean that Tauta actually composed a commentary on Bharata. Utpaladeva, author of *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* and other works, is well known in the history of Kashmir Śaivaism. He is quoted chiefly in the chapters on music. It is not clear if he wrote a commentary on these chapters or an independent work on music. Similar remarks apply to Śakalīgarbha who is cited once along with Udbhaṭa (see below). Mention is also made of Taṇḍu[2] in *Nāṭya-śāstra* (iv. 17-18) as one who instructed Bharata in the representation of Aṅgahāras together with various *karaṇas* (postures) and *recakas* (gestures). An unknown Ṭīkākāra or Ṭītākṛt is frequently cited by Abhinava throughout the text.

Mātṛguptācārya

Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā*[3] and Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī*[4] quote Mātṛguptācārya as a writer on Dramaturgy;

1 See Kane in the work cited p. 388 ; also in his *HSP*, pp. 209-12 ; V. Raghavan as cited above pp. 153-62. Three metrical lines from Tauta are cited by Abhinava p. 291-92.

2 With regard to Taṇḍu cited on p. 90 (vol. i) we are told that Nandi is another name for Taṇḍu, as the word Muni designates Bharata (*taṇḍu-muni-śabdau nandi-bharatayor apara-nāmāni*). Hence Nandi-mata (cited on p. 171). in Abhinava's opinion, stands for the views of Taṇḍu. See above p. 20.

3 Ed. NSP, 1922, pp. 5, 6, 7 (on Rasa), 8 (definition of Nāṭaka), 13 (Vithyaṅga), 15 (languages to be employed by various characters), 20 (Bhūṣaṇa), 57 (Sañcārikā), 62 (Senāpati), 74 (Hasita), 110 (Pātakāsthānaka), 123 (same), 126 (Sanskrit employed by Nīca Pātra), 154 (Kañcukin), 156 (Pratīharī). 199 (Paricārikā), p. 230 (Phala-yoga), etc.

4 Ed. NSP, 1900, p. 5 (Sūtradhāra) ; cf Aufrecht i, 448a.

and Sundaramiśra in his *Nāṭya-pradīpa* (dated 1613 A.D.), commenting on Bharata's remarks on Nāndī says : *asya vyākhyāne matṛguptācāryaiḥ...iyam udāhṛtā.*[1] This has been taken by S. Lévi to imply that Mātṛgupta wrote a *vyākhyāna* or commentary on Bharata, and that assuming him to be the poet who lived under Harṣa-Vikramāditya (*Rājataraṅg.* iii. 125, 252) we get in him a very early commentator (7th century) on Bharata. But the available evidence does ont appear to be conclusive. Our Mātṛgupta, as the profuse metrical quotations on dramaturgic topics by Rāghavabhaṭṭa and others show, probably wrote an independent metrical work on Dramaturgy, in which he might have in the usual course commented on Bharata's precepts ; and the word *vyākhyāna* need not be construed to mean a commentary. Mātṛgupta of Kahlaṇa was a king and poet ; how is it that he is cited in these works with the designation of Ācārya which signifies a teacher? Mātṛguptācārya is known to Abhinavagupta who quotes him on music (ch. xxix). Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāva-prakāśana* quotes his view on Naṭaka-vastu ; Sāgaranandin in his *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa* quotes several verses of his (pp. 5, 14, 20, 21, 23, 50) ; and Śārṅgadeva mentions him as an authority on music.[2]

Udbhaṭa

As already noted above (p. 32, fn 2), Śārṅgdeva in his *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (i. 1. 19) informs us that Udbhaṭa was one of the early commentators on Bharata's text. This is very likely, although Udbhaṭa's commentary has not yet been recovered.

1 Quoted in *IOC* iii, p. 347. Mātṛgupta is also cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* (dated 1659 A. D.). ed. NSP, 1914, p. 5 (on Nāndī); by Sarvānanda on Amara, p. 145 (Adbhuta Rasa), 147 (Bībhatsa Rasa), 150 (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas), 161 (Anubhāva in Śṛṅgāra), 16 (on Tāla).

2 The citations from Mātṛgupta are collected together by T. R. Chintamani in his Fragments of Mātṛgupta in *JOR ii*, 1928, pp. 118-28.

Śārṅgadeva's statement appears to be confirmed by several citations of Udbhaṭa's views by Abhinavagupta. One of these references, already quoted above (p. 24, fn. 1) occurs in Abhinava's commentary on vi. 10 (p. 266-67) in which it is stated that certain views of Udbhaṭa on textual interpretation were not accepted by Lollaṭa, another commentator on Bharata. On ix. 182 (vol. ii, p. 70) and xviii. 76 (vol. ii, p. 441), again, Abhinava quotes certain readings of the text made out differently by Udbhaṭa. In two other passages (on xxi. 17 and xxi. 42 on Saṃdhis) Abhinava takes exception to the interpretation of Udbhaṭa as *lakṣya-* or *agama-viruddha.* In still another passage on the Vṛttis (on xviii. 110 vol. ii, pp, 451-52) Abhinava informs us that Udbhaṭa accepted only three Vṛttis (and not the usual four of Bharata), namely, Nyāya-ceṣṭā, Anyāya-ceṣṭā and Phala-saṃvitti. In this connexion Abhinava further refers to a certain writer, called Śakalīgarbha, who would admit five Vṛttis (namely, the four of Bharata and another called Ātma-saṃvitti in place of Udbhaṭa's Phala-saṃvitti); but these views have been refuted by Lollaṭa and others. Again, Kuntaka (pp. 113-15) disagrees with Udbhaṭa's view of the Sva-śabda-vācyatā of Rasa as being opposed to Bharata's opinion. These detailed references to Udbhaṭa's views or comments on topics dealt with in such far apart chapters as vi, ix, xviii and xxi, make it probable that Udbhaṭa commented on the whole of the *Nāṭya-śāstra.*

But this presumption is not applicable to the case of Śakalīgarbha who appears to have flourished between Udbhaṭa and Lollaṭa. He might have been a writer on certain topics of Dramaturgy; but whether he composed a commentary on Bharata is not clear.

Lollaṭa

Lollaṭa is extensively cited by Abhinavagupta not only in ch. vi (on Rasa-sūtra), but also in ch. xii, xiii, xviii and xxi. Lollaṭa is mentioned as rejecting Udbhaṭa's views on the Vṛttis

(see above) and on the eleven topics of Nāṭya (on vi. 10).[1] Several other characteristic views of Lollaṭa are also mentioned; for instance, his view that Rasas are numerous (on vi, 45),[2] although eight or nine are traditionally accepted for the stage; that Nāṭikā is Ṣaṭpadā (on xviii. 60)[3] against Śaṅkuka's opinion that it is Aṣṭapadā. References are also made to Lollaṭa's views on Dhruvā Tāla (on xii. 14)[4]; on Kakṣyā (xiii. 1)[5]; on what he calls (on xxi. 29) Anusaṃdhi (dealing with the acts of a Patākā-hero); on his omission of xviii. 32 from the text[6]. These references to different parts of the text would go to confirm the tradition that Lollaṭa was also a regular commentator on Bharata's text.

We have no definite material to determine the date of Lollaṭa; but all later citations agree in supporting the tradition that he was earlier than the commentator Śaṅkuka whose theory of Rasa is said to have been directly levelled against that of Lollaṭa. Judging from his name, Lollaṭa was probably a Kashmirian; and if any chronological inference can be drawn from the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta's reference (mentioned above) to an opinion of Udbhaṭa being controverted by Lollaṭa, he was later than or contemporaneous with Udbhaṭa, also a Kashmirian, whose latest date is 813 A.D.

The theory of Rasa advocated by Lollaṭa probably obtained traditionally before he definitely formulated it and became its first noted advocate; for Abhinava in his commentary (on ch. vi) tells us that Daṇḍin in his idea of Rasa follows the same view. Unless we presume Lollaṭa's priority to Daṇḍin, we should take this to indicate that some theory or dogma similar to it was already known to Daṇḍin, even before Lollaṭa brought it into prominence.

Lollaṭa is also taken to be what is technically described as Dīrgha-vyāpāra-vādin with reference to the controversy about the function of Abhidhā; for he is said to have maintained that the primary function of Denotation of a word is

1 Vol. i, p. 266. 2 Vol. i, p. 299. 3 Vol. ii, p. 436.
4 Vol. ii, p. 134. 5 Vol. ii, p. 196. 6 Vol. ii, p. 423.

so far-reaching that it is competent in itself to express all other implied or suggested sense. But it is doubtful if this view is directly ascribed to Lollaṭa by any standard Sanskrit theorist of importance, although it is criticised without the name of the promulgator by Mammaṭa (p. 225), Mahimabhaṭṭa (p. 27), Hemacandra (p. 215), Vidyānātha (p. 43) and others. Govinda in his *Kāvya-pradīpa* (p. 149) thinks that adherents of this view are followers of Bhaṭṭa-mata. Abhinava attributes a similar view (*Locana* p. 188) to the Bhaṭṭa or Prābhākara school ; this might have been the source of Govinda's statement. The Mīmāṃsakas and grammarians had already discussed the question of Abhidhā ; and it must not be forgotten that several attempts to explain the fact of Dhvani (suggested sense), including Rasa-dhvani, obtained before the Dhvanikāra himself. It is probable that Lollaṭa was one of those who offered one of the several solutions to the question alluded to in the first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka*. We shall see that Lollaṭa was probably a Mīmāṃsaka in his view of Rasa, even if he was not a Dīrgha-vyāpāra-vādin.

The only direct quotation from Lollaṭa (and not mere consideration of his views) consists of two verses given by Hemacandra (p. 215). If he was a prose commentator, how do these metrical quotations fit in?[1]

Śaṅkuka

Abhinavagupta very frequently refers to Śaṅkuka's views on different dramaturgic topics ; e g. on Raṅga-pīṭha (on iii. 21-22)[2]; on Rasa-sūtra (on ch. vi)[3]; on Nāṭaka (on xviii.10)[4]; on the king as a character (on xviii. 12)[5]; on Nāṭikā-bheda (on xviii. 60)[6]; on Pratimukha and Vimarśa

1 V. Raghavan believes (*Some Concepts* pp. 207-8 : *JOR* vi. p. 169) that Lollaṭa's other name was Āparājiti, son of Aparājita, because a quotation from Āparājiti by Rājaśekhara (p. 45) is given by Hemachandra (p. 215) with the name of Lollaṭa.

2 Vol. i, p. 75. 3 Vol. i, pp. 239, 298, 318.

4 Vol. ii, p. 411. 5 V. ii, p. 414. 6 Vol. ii, p. 436.

Saṃdhis (on xxi.40,42) etc.[1] As the citations relate to matters covered by ch. iii to xxix, it is probable that Śaṅkuka composed a commentary on the entire text of Bharata. Abhinavagupta informs us (p. 275) that his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tauta disapproved of Śaṅkuka's views on Rasa.

To Śaṅkuka are also ascribed several verses in the authologies of Śārṅgadhara, Jahlaṇa and Vallabhadeva,[2]—which indicates that there was also a poet of the same name. Kahlaṇa mentions (iv. 703-5) a poet Śaṅkuka and his poem *Bhuvanābhyudaya*. The reference is to the time of Ajitāpīḍa, whose date is given as 813 A.D. by Cunningham and 816 A.D. by S. P. Pandit. If our Śaṅkuka is identical with this poet, then he may be assigned to the first quarter of the 9th century.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

Basides referring to his view on the Rasa-sūtra of Bharata (ch. vi)[3] Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 27: also *Abh. bh.* xvi. 4)[4] quotes under the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka a verse *śabdaprādhānyam āśritya*[5], which Hemacandra (p. 3-4) gives as a quotation from a work, named *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*[6], and which is also cited without the name of the author by Mahimabhaṭṭa and his commentator. Jayaratha also speaks (p. 12) of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as Hṛdayadarpaṇa-kāra. It is probable, therefore, that some lost work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's bore this title ; and the references also indicate the probable source

1 See P. V. Kane, HSP, pp. 50-51. for six other instances from ch. xxiv to xxix where Śaṅkuka has been cited by Abhinavagupta.

2 In the first two anthologies Śaṅkuka is called son of Mayūra, who is identified by some with the author of *Sūrya-śataka*, a contemporary of Bāṇa.

3 Vol. i, p. 278. 4 Vol. ii, p. 298.

5 This verse is also quoted by Jayaratha p. 9. Māṇikyacandra (p. 4) also ascribes the verse to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, whom he refers on p. 8 as the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa-kāra*.

6 P. V. Kane (*HSP* p. 187) suggests that the proper name of work was *Sahṛdaya-darpaṇa*, but evidence is meagre to support this suggestion.

of the quotation which occurs immediately before the verse in question in Abhinavagupta. It is, however, not clear whether this *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* is his alleged lost commentary on Bharata. Mahimabhaṭṭa's anonymous commentator tells us that this *Hṛdaya darpaṇa*, like the *Vyakti-viveka*, was composed with the special object of demolishing the Dhvani-theory[1] formulated by Ānandavardhana ; and this statement may explain why Abhinavagupta, as an adherent of the theory, takes so much pains to controvert Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's views in his *Locana*[2], as well as in his *Abhinava-bhāratī*.[3] Mahimabhaṭṭa, who had a similar object of combating the Dhvani-theory, claims entire originality for his own treatment by boasting that he had never looked into the *Darpaṇa* at all.[4] The citations from the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* also indicate that it was probably composed in metrical form, and apparently never took at all the shape of a prose commentary.

A careful examination of the very few passages apparently referring to this work will shew that the topics dealt with in it centre round the question of Dhvani in poetry, in correlation with the theory of Rasa intimately connected therewith. Abhinava, for instance, while discussing (p. 16) the verse *bhama dhammia vīsattho*, which is given by Ānandavardhana as an instance of suggestion with an expressed injunction implying a prohibition, refutes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's opinion as to this negative implication. In another place. Abhinava criticises (p. 21) the significance attached by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

1 *darpaṇo hṛdaya-darpaṇākhyo dhvani-dhvaṃsa-grantho'pi*, explaining the pun on the word *darpaṇa* used by Mahimabhaṭṭa in i. 4.

2 Both Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and his *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* are cited by name in *Locana* pp. 27, 28, 63. Other references occur on pp. 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 29, 36, 67, 68—all of which consist mostly of direct criticism in support of Dhvani-theory.

3 For instance, on Bharata p. 1: *bhaṭṭa-nāyakas tu brahmaṇā paramātmanā yad udāhṛtam......iti vyākhyānaṃ hṛdaya-darpaṇe pratyagrahīt.*

4 *adṛṣṭa-darpaṇā mama dhiḥ* i. 4.

to the word *aham* in the verse *attā ettha ṇimajjai*, which is discussed by Ānandavardhana as an example of suggestion of a contrary kind where the expressed prohibition implies an injunction. It is evident from these references that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's work, like Mahimabhaṭṭa's, was designed not merely as a refutation of the general theory of Dhvani, but also as a special attack on Ānandavardhana's exposition of the same. To take a minute point, the Dhvanikāra in i. 13 uses the verb *vyaṅktaḥ* in the dual number with a special object in view, as Ānandavardhana's (as well as Abhinava's) explanation rightly indicates. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seems to have attacked this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinavagupta remarks (*Locana*, p. 33): *bhaṭṭa-nāyakena yad dvi-vacanaṃ dūṣitaṃ tad gaja-nimīlikayaiva.*[1]

It appears, therefore, that the *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* was not a commentary on Bharata,[2] but a metrical treatise in the *anuṣṭubh* with a running prose commentary, dealing with the question of Dhvani, and incidentally with the question of Rasa-dhvani. No doubt, Abhinava in his own commentary on Bharata, as well numerous other later writers taking their cue from Abhinava, criticises at some length Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of Rasa, along with those of Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka and with special reference to Bharata's particular *sūtra* on the subject in ch. vi (also *Locana* pp. 67-68); yet Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is nowhere mentioned directly as a commentator on the same text. Very rarely Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's interpretations of particular passages of Bharata are cited by Abhinavagupta, as they are with regard to those of Udbhaṭa, Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka.[3] It is probable that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's peculiar theory

1 Mahimabhaṭṭa also refers (p. 19) to this discussion, quoting these words of Abhinava from the *Locana*.

2 As V. V. Sovani in *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume,* p. 390 (*contra* in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 450-52) states.

3 T. R. Chintamani collected together 'Fragments of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka' in *JOR* i, 1927, pp. 267-76; also in *Proc. A-I. O. C.*, Allahabad 1929, ii, pp. 155. 193.

of Rasa (which, however, bears a resemblance to Abhinava's own) called for a special refutation in the hands of this champion of the Dhvani-theory, because Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka denied the expressive function of Dhvani and attempted to explain the concept by postulating the function of Bhogīkaraṇa. But there is no definite indication to shew that this theory of Rasa, being a corollary to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's general theory of expression, was not incidental to his main thesis, which was directed towards the demolition of the new idea of Dhvani and establishment of another explanation of that concept. This may be the reason why Śārṅgadeva, in his enumeration of Bharata's commentators before his time, omits the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.[1]

There can hardly be any doubt that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was familiar with the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, including Ānandavardhana's Vṛtti, and should, therefore, be placed in a period later than the date of Ānandavardhana. The conclusion is supported by the statement of Jayaratha (p. 12) that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka lived after the Dhvanikāra by whom Jayaratha, like many other later writers, invariably means Ānandavardhana without distinguishing him from the so-called Dhvanikāra. On the other hand, the oldest writer to mention and cite Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is Abhinavagupta, from whom he does not appear to be chronologically very distant. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, flourished between the last quarter of the 9th and the last quarter of the 10th century ; and it will not be wrong if we assign him to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This date makes it likely that he is identical, as Peterson suggested, with Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who is mentioned by Kahlaṇa (v. 159) as having flourished in the

1 See p. 32 above, footnote 2. With this view P. V. Kane (*HSP*, p. 214) agrees. Similarly Ruyyaka, while reviewing the different systems which obtained before his time, mentions Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka not as a commentator but as an independent author who advocated a new system in common with other explanations of the Dhvani theory (p. 9, ed. N. S. P.)

reign of Śaṃkaravarman, son and successor of Avantivarman of Kashmir.

Harsa

Harṣa or Śrī-harṣa is said to have composed a *Vārttika* on the *Nāṭya-śastra*. He is cited by Abhinavagupta sometimes by name (on v.7, 180[1] ; xxix. 101) and sometimes as Vārttika-kṛt or Vārttika-kāra (i. 84 ; ii. 97-98 ; iv. 267-68)[2], while *Vārttika* without the name of the author[3] or *Harṣa-vārttika* (iv, 331)[4] is also cited. On v. 8-15 there is a prose passage from the *Vārttika* quoted[5]. The citations are more profuse from the first six chapters, but there is one reference to ch. xxix. Śāradātanaya (p. 238) refers to Harṣa's view that the Toṭaka differs from Nāṭaka in having no Vidūṣaka[6]. As the *Vārttika* is no longer available no definite conclusion is possible. These citations however, make it highly probable that it might not have been a regular commentary (in spite of its name)[7], but dealt, mostly in Āryā metre (with occasional prose), with relevant parts of the *Nāṭya-śastra*.

Kīrtidhara

Śārṅgadeva informs us (see above p. 32, fn 2) that Kīrtidhara was a commentator on Bharata's text. He must have been earlier than Abhinavagupta who tells us (ch.xxix) that not having seen Nandikeśvara's work himself, he is relying on Kīrtidhara's account of it (see above p. 20). There are several references[8] in Abhinava's commentary to Kīrtidhara or

1 Vol. i. p. 211 and p. 251.

2 Vol. i, p. 31 ; i, p. 67 ; i, 172, 174 respectively.

3 Vol. i. p. 174.

4 Vol. i. p. 207

5 Vol. i, p. 212.

6 Śrīharṣa Miśra quoted in Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasa-pradīpa* (a prose passage) may or not be our author.

7 As in the case of Nānyadeva's *Bharata-bhāṣya* or *Bharata-vārttika*.

8 See V. Raghavan in *JOR*, v, 1932, p. 198 ; Kane in *Pathak Comm. Volume*, p. 388.

Kīrtidharācārya on Nāṭya and Nṛtta (ch. iv) [1] and on the Geyādhikāra section. These citations show that Kīrtidhara, like Śārṅgadeva, was interested mostly in music, but they are not sufficient to establish that he wrote a regular commentary on the entire text of Bharata.

Abinavagupta

Although Abhinavagupta contented himself with the writing of commentaries in the field of Sanskrit Poetics, his works have almost the value of independent treatises for their profound erudition and critical acumen. As his reputation in Poetics rests on his exposition of the Dhvani-theory, it would be better to take him up in connexion with the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana.

The entire text of Abhinava's commentary, called *Abhinava-bhāratī*, on Bharata's text which consisted of 36 chapters, is not available, either in the printed edition or in any MS. His comments on ch.vii (except the prose portion and the first few verses), ch. viii and ch. xxxiii-xxxiv are missing, and there are also short gaps (e.g. on the last verses of ch. v), As he refers to his *Locana* in this work, it was composed later.

Nānyadeva

A work called *Bharata-bhāṣya* (also *Bharata-vārttika* in some of its colophons) by Nānyadeva or Nānyapati is available in a unique MS (221 folios) in the BORI collection[2]. The author is called Mithileśvara (king of Mithilā) in one of its verses, while the colophons describe him as Mahāsāmantādhipati. The work is unknown to Abhinavagupta who was earlier in date and who is utilised in it but rarely mentioned by name. Nānyadeva is known as the founder of the Karṇā-

1 Vol. i, p. 208.

2 *BORI Cat, of MSS*, xii, no. 111 of 1869-70, pp. 377-83. The work also goes by the name *Sarasvatī-hṛdayālaṃkāra*. Dr. C. P. Desai of Tarapur, Thana, Bombay, is understood to be editing the work for Khairagarh Music University, M. P.

ṭaka dynasty of Mithilā who ruled from 1097 to 1147 A.D[1]. The author mentions another work of his called *Grantha-mahārṇava.*

Although it is called a Bhāṣya, it is not a direct commentary on Bharata's text. It was ambitiously planned in four Aṃśas, each devoted to one of the four kinds of Abhinaya; but the extant portion, itself extensive, deals only with one kind, namely, Vācika, and relates chiefly to ch. xxviii to xxxiii of the *Nāṭya-śāstra,* which deal with music. The MS, though old, is defective, wanting in ch. v, xvi and xvii (the total number of promised chapters being seventeen). Bharata is profusely quoted, but other old authorities like Nārada, Śātātapa, Dattila, Kāśyapa (also Bṛhat-Kāśyapa and Vṛddha-Kāśyapa), Mataṅga, *Bṛhad-deśī,* Nandi-mata, Yaṣṭika (otherwise unknown), Kīrtidhara, and Viśākhila are frequently cited. Śārṅgadeva appears to be the only author who cites Nānyadeva.

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1 *EI,* i, 395 at p. 364; *IHQ,* vii, pp, 679-87.

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CHAPTER III

FROM BHĀMAHA TO ĀNANDAVARDHANA

BHĀMAHA

The earliest citation of Bhāmaha in later Alaṃkāra literature is to be found in two passages in Ānandavardhana's Vṛtti on the *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 39, 207); and at p. 236 Ānandavardhana quotes anonymously Bhāmaha iii. 27. The next interesting reference occurs in the commentary of Pratīhārendurāja, who informs us (p. 13) that his author Udbhaṭa composed a work, presumably a commentary on Bhāmaha, which is described as *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*. This statement is confirmed by Abhinavagupta (*Locana* pp. 10, 40, 159, *vivaraṇakṛt*) and Hemachandra (Comm. pp. 17, 110); while Ruyyaka cites the commentary generally as *bhāmahīya udbhaṭa-lakṣaṇa* (p. 183) and Samudrabandha discribes it as *kāvyālaṃkāra-vivṛti* (p. 89). There are also numerous passages in Udbhaṭa's independent work, *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha*, which unmistakably copy some of the definitions of poetic figures directly from Bhāmaha, and do not hesitate to repeat the very language of the earlier work.[1]

Vāmana, Udbhaṭa's contemporary, also appears to betray an acquaintance with Bhāmaha's text.[2] Bhāmaha, for

1 See, for instance, the definitions of the figures *rasavat, atiśayokti, sasaṃdeha, sahokti, apahnuti, utprekṣā, yathāsaṃkhya, aprastuta-praśaṃsā paryāyokta, ākṣepa, vibhāvanā, virodha* and *bhāvika*.—Bhāmaha is quoted extensively by Abhinavagupta and other later writers.

2 Bhāmaha's work called *Bhāmahālaṃkāra* (but *Kāvyālaṃkāra* is the first verse) consists of six Paricchedas or chapters and about 400 verses. The topics covered are: I. Purposes of Kāvya, its definition and divisions from different points of view; Sargabandha, Kathā and Ākhyāyikā; reference to Vaidarbha and Gauḍa modes

instance, defines the figure Upamā (ii. 30) as *viruddhenopamā-nena......upameyasya yat sāmyaṃ guṇa-leśena sopamā*; and Vāmana seems to paraphrase this definition in the concise form of a Sūtra: *upamānenopameyasya guṇa-leśataḥ sāmyam upamā* (iv. 2. 1).[1] Again, speaking of effective implication (*atiśayavān arthaḥ*) to be found in Upamā, Bhāmaha lays down (ii. 50):

yasyātiśayavān arthaḥ kathaṃ so'saṃbhavo mataḥ/,
iṣṭaṃ cātiśayārthatvam upamotprekṣayor yathā//

Reading together Vāmana iv. 2. 20 and 21 (*anupapattir asaṃbhavaḥ* and *na viruddho'tiśayaḥ*), we find that Vāmana is apparently repeating the same view ; and in his Vṛtti on the first Sūtra, he adds *upamāyām atiśayasyeṣṭatvāt*, making it clear in the next Sūtra that an effective implication (*atiśaya*), which is contradictory, should be avoided. Vāmana also reproduces anonymously a verse of an unknown poet whose name is given by Bhāmaha (ii. 46) with the same verse as Śākhavardhana. Such repetition of views in more or less standardised phraseology in a technical treatise, or the quotation of the same illustrative verse in a similar context need not be taken as conclusive ; but Vāmana, in his Vṛtti on v. 2. 38, actually though not accurately, quotes a part of a verse from Bhāmaha ii. 27, and comments on the peculiar usage of the word *bhaṅguram* employed therein.[2]

some Doṣas pertaining generally to the Kāvya. II-III. The three Guṇas (Mādhurya, Prasāda and Ojas); treatment of Alaṃkāras which ends with ch. iii (for a list of the poetic figures see vol. ii. ch. ii(i). IV. Eleven Doṣas, with illustrations. V. Eleven Doṣas again which arise from a faulty Pratijñā, Hetu or Dṛṣṭanta, VI. Sauśabdya or grammatical correctness (elaborated later by Vāmana in fifth Adhikarṇa of his work).

1 Cf Bharata xvi. 41.

2 The verse is quoted with Bhāmaha's name in Jayamaṅgalā on Bhaṭṭi x. 21 ; ananymously in the *Vakrokti-jīvita* (along with other verses from Bhāmaha) and in *Lacana* p. 40 anonymously.

This will justify us in placing Bhāmaha chronologically before Udbhaṭa and Vāmana who, as we shall see, flourished in the last quarter of the 8th century A. D., and will give us one terminus to the date of Bhāmaha.

With regard to the other terminus, controversy has been keen and busy. Pathak finds in the mention of a *nyāsakāra* in Bhāmaha vi. 36 a clear reference to the Buddhist Jinendrabuddhi, author of a commentary (ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1913, 1919-25) on the *Kāśikā*, and comes to the conclusion that "as the *nyāsakāra* (meaning Jinendra) lived about 700 A. D., Bhāmaha must be assigned to the 8th century".[1] Against this K. P. Trivedi has demonstrated[2] that the allusion to the opinion of the *nyāsakāra* cannot be taken as an unmistakable reference to Jinendrabuddhi's views, and that the existence of some other *nyāsakāras* is also made probable by the citations of Mādhava, as well as by a punning passage in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita*.[3] Jacobi[4] has joined issue by adding a doubt on the correctness of the date assigned by Pathak to Jinendrabuddhi who, on the authority of Kielhorn, was probably later than Haradatta (d. 878 A. D.).

No fresh light is thrown on the question by the conjecture[5] that Bhāmaha in i. 42 refers to the *Megha-dūta* by his condemnation of the poetical device of employing clouds, among other things, as messengers ; nor by Pathak's other equally fanciful supposition that Māgha ii. 86b refers to Bhāmaha

1 *IA* xli p. 232 ff, at p. 235 ; see also *JBRAS* xxiii pp. 25-26.

2 *IA* xlii pp. 204 f, and at pp. 260-1.

3 *kṛta-guru-padanyāsāḥ* (ed N. S. P. p. 96), explained by Śaṃkara as *kṛto'bhyasto guru-pade durbodha-śabde nyāso vṛttir vivaraṇo yaiḥ.*

4 *Sb. der Preuss. Akad* xxiv (1922), pp. 210-11.

5 Haricand, *L'Art Poétique de l'Inde* p. 77 ; J. Nobel in *ZDMG* lxxiii, p. 192.

i. 16.[1] Nothing, again, is gained by the controversy over the question whether Bhāmaha, the son of Rakrilagomin and worshipper of Sārva, was a Buddhist, as indicated by the opening and closing verses of his work.[2] Jacobi however, has shewn[3] that Bhāmaha has made considerable use of the teachings of Buddhist philosophers in ch. v, and that the upper limit to Bhāmaha's date should be determined with reference to that of Buddhist Dharmakīrti, some of whose philosophical doctrines Bhāmaha has utilised even to the repetition of Darmakīrti's actual phraseology. Dharmakīrti is placed by Jacobi between the sojourn in India of Yuan Chwang and Yi-tsing respectively (630-643 and 673-695 A. D.), as he is not known to the former, while the latter refers to him among those of late years.[4] The upper limit, therefore, of Bhāmaha's date should be fixed at the third quarter of the 7th century A. D. Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattva-saṃgraha* (ed. GOS, 1926, p. 219, verses 912-14), who is said to have flourished about 705-762 A. D., cites three verses of Bhāmaha (vi. 17-19) criticising the Buddhist Apoha-vāda. This would also go to establish that Bhāmaha cannot be placed much later than the seventh century.

We can, therefore, place Bhāmaha approximately in the period between the last quarter of the 7th and the middle of

1 But see Daṇḍin i. 10; Vāmana i. 1. 1 (*vṛtti*); Rudraṭa ii. 1 and Ānandavardhana p. 5, for the same idea of *śabda* and *artha* as constituents of poetry.

2 On this controversy, see *JRAS* 1905, pp. 535 f; *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 543f; Trivedi introd. to *Pratāparudra;* Haricand *op. cit.* p. 71; Pathak in *IA* 1912, p. 235.

3 *op cit* pp. 211-12. G. Tucci (Bhāmaha and Diṅnāga in *IA*, June 1930) is of opinion that Bhāmaha's logical theories allude to Diṅnāga, and not to Dharmakīrtī who was posterior to Bhāmaha.

4 See Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 1896, p. 181; cf p. lviii. Tāranātha in his *Geschichte* (tr. Schiefner pp. 184-5) makes him a contemporary of the Tibetan king, Strong-bstan-sgam-po, who died about 650 A.D. Cf. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 130.

8th century. As it is probable that he might have been a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti's and also presumably lived some time before his commentator Udbhaṭa, it would not be wrong if we place him towards the end of the 7th and the commencement of the 8th century A. D.

(2)

We have already discussed the relation which Bharata's treatment of Alaṃkāras might have borne to Bhāmaha's much fuller and later disquisition. What we find in Bharata constitutes the earliest speculation on the subject that we possess; but Bhāmaha himself tells us that he had predecessors whose works he apparently utilised. While referring to these predecessors (or contemporaries) generally as *anye,*[1] *apare*[2] or *kecit,*[3] Bhāmaha cites twice by name one Medhāvin in ii. 40, 88. One of these passages is referred to by Nami-sādhu on Rudraṭa xi. 24, where (as well as in two other places on i. 2, ii. 2) the full name is given as Medhāvirudra, which form also occurs in Rājaśekhara (p. 12)[4]. This writer was thus earlier than Bhāmaha but probably later than Bharata.

Bhāmaha's work is divided into six chapters with a total of about 400 verses (mostly in Anuṣṭubh) (see above p. 46,

1 i. 13, 24; ii. 4, 57; iii. 4; iv. 12 etc.

2 i. 14, 31; ii. 6, 8; iii. 4; iv. 6 etc.

3 ii. 2, 37, 93; iii. 54 etc. He also cites one Rāmaśarman in ii. 19, but from ii. 58 this author appears to be a poet; the name of his work is given as *Acyutottara.* The Rājamitra cited in ii. 45 appears from iii. 10 to be a Kāvya. Besides Nyāsa (vi. 36), Pāṇini (vi. 62-63) and Kaṇabhakṣa (v. 17), we have mention of Śākavardhana (ii. 47) and a work called Aśmaka-vaṃśa. These citations are not of much use for chronological purposes.

4 Rājaśekhara couples Medhāvirudra's name with that of Kumāradāsa and adds the information that he was a born-blind poet The name does not constitute the names of two different poets, Medhāvin and Rudra, as some writers suggest, nor need we take it on the late authority of the *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* as a name of Kālidāsa.—Hultzsch (ed. *Megha-dūta* p. xi) states that Vallabhadeva in his comm. (xi. 6) cites Medhāvirudra, but this is not found in the printed text.

fn 2) ; it is smaller in extent than Daṇḍin's work (about 660 verses). At one time it was believed[1], on the indication given by the *Jayamaṅgalā* on Bhaṭṭi, that the Alaṃkāra-chapters in that Kāvya[2], especially canto x, was meant to illustrate the rhetorical teachings of Bhāmaha in particular ; but the date now assigned to Bhāmaha will readjust his relation to Bhaṭṭi in a new light. Bhaṭṭi tells us in xxii. 35 that he composed his poem in Valabhī ruled over by Śrīdharasena[3]. It appears that no less than four Śrīdharasenas ruled at Valabhī roughly between 500 and 650 A.D., of whom the last flourished, as his latest grant shows, in 651 A.D. Bhaṭṭi, therefore, at the latest, lived in the first half of the 7th century ; and if, as his editor concludes,[4] he may be assigned to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, he was certainly older than Bhāmaha by almost a century, Bhāmaha probably knew his work and therefore remarked, while dismissing verbal juggleries like *prahelikā* (ii. 20):

kāvyāny api yadīmāni vyākhyā-gamyāmi śāstravat /
utsavaḥ sudhiyām eva hanta durmedhaso hatāḥ //

with a pointed reference to Bhaṭṭi's self-boasting in xxii. 34. :

vyākhyā-gamyam idaṃ kāvyam utsavaḥ sudhiyām alam/
hatā durmedhasaś cāsmin vidvat-priyatayā mayā //

The treatment of Alaṃkāras in Bhaṭṭi may, therefore, be

1 Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv, p. 130f.

2 The three cantos of this Kāvya (x-xii) comprising what is called Prasanna-kāṇḍa are supposed to illustrate matters concerning Poetics. Thus, canto x (75 verses) illustrates Alaṃkāras, xi (47 verses) Mādhurya Guṇa and xii (87 verses) the figure Bhāvika which is called a Prabandha-guṇa. The *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* consists of 22 cantos, chiefly illustrating rules of Sanskrit Grammar.

3 *kāvyam idaṃ vihitaṃ mayā valabhyāṃ / śrīdharasena-narendra-pālitāyām*. The *Jayamaṅgalā* reads *śrīdhara-sūnu-narendra* in the second line, but this cannot be supported in view of the fact that we do not hear of any prince of the name Narendra, son of Śrīdhara, in the list of Valabhī princes known to us. Mallinātha and Bharatamallika do not comment on this verse.

4 ed. B.S.S. Introd. p. xxii.

presumed to supply one of the missing links in the history of rhetorical speculations anterior to Bhāmaha. A remarkable coincidence of treatment, which probably started the theory of Bhaṭṭi's appropriation of Bhāmaha's teachings, is at once noticeable not only in the order, number and presumed naming and characterisation of different poetic figures; but a detailed examination will at the same time shew that beneath this general agreement there are enough discrepancies which will indicate that neither of them follows scrupulously the views of the other. The agreement apparently shows that the two authors were not chronologically distant from each other by such a considerable length of time as might betoken a material difference in the number, order or definition of the poetic figures; while the discrepancies may be reasonably explained as indicating that they did not probably draw from the same source.

The special object of the particular canto in Bhaṭṭi being that of illustrating the various forms of poetic figures prevalent in his time, we may presume that it was probably based on a particular treatise on Alaṃkāra to which the poet generally adheres. He is said to have mentioned in all 38 such independent figures, along with 39 subspecies of some individual figures. He does not himself give the names of these figures, but they are indicated by the *Jayamaṅgalā*, as well as in some MSS which apparently preserve the traditional nomenclature[1]. These, with one trifling exception (*udāra*=*udātta*), correspond to the particular names given to them in Bhāmaha. As to the order or sequence of treatment, a comparative table will show that Bhāmaha gives the first 23 figures (up to *viśeṣokti*) in the same order as in

1 The commentators, however, differ among themselves in the naming of the poetic figures in several stanzas.—The *Jayamaṅgalā* is printed in the NSP ed. of the Kāvya (1887), while the commentary of Mallinātha is given in the BSS ed. (in 2 vols. 1898). The commentary of Bharatamallika along with *Jayamaṅgalā* has been edited in 2 vols, Calcutta 1871-73.

Bhaṭṭi with the exception of the pairs, *rūpaka*, and *dīpaka*, *arthāntara-nyāsa* and *ākṣepa*, which are given in an inverse order. The rest of the figures appear with a slightly different arrangement, because Bhāmaha admits *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* omitted by Bhaṭṭi, and adopts a somewhat different order in mentioning the five figures here treated in common, until we come to *virodha*. From here, again, the order is the same, excepting that Bhāmaha mentions *bhāvika* (which is separately illustrated in another canto by Bhaṭṭi), while Bhaṭṭi admits an unknown figure *nipuṇa*, and adds *hetu* and *vārtā* which are expressly rejected by Bhāmaha. As the exposition of *Jayamaṅglā* shows, Bhaṭṭi generally follows the definitions of Bhāmaha where the figures are common (even in the cases of subspecies of these figures[1]), with only a few exceptions.

These exceptions, though few, are yet significant. They refer in particular to the figures *yamaka* (of which Bhaṭṭi mentions 20, while Bhāmaha only 5 subspecies), *upamā* (where the treatment of subspecies is slightly divergent), *rūpaka* (of which the four subspecies of Bhaṭṭi do not correspond to the two of Bhāmaha), *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* omitted by Bhaṭṭi, and *nipuṇa* omitted by Bhāmaha. At the same time, Bhāmaha mentions but rejects *prahelikā*, *hetu*, *sūkṣma*, *leśa* and *vārtā*, of which Bhaṭṭi admits only *hetu* (probably as an afterthought) and *vārtā*. Bhaṭṭi does not recognise *svabhāvokti*, which is mentioned but apparently disfavoured by

1 e. g. the figure *ākṣepa*, of which the two subdivisions *ukta-viṣaya* and *vakṣyamāṇa-viṣaya* are found in both Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi, they being unaware of the different interpretation of Vāmana and the somewhat fine differentiations of Daṇḍin. The same remark applies to *dīpaka* and its three subspecies, which do not agree with the exposition of Bharata, Daṇḍin or Vāmana. Cf also the three subspecies of *śleṣa* viz. *sahokti-śl°*, *upamā-śl°* and *hetu-śl°*, illustrated by Bhaṭṭi and mentioned by Bhāmaha in iii. 17, although later writers, like Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, speak of *śleṣa* as coming with many other figures. Pratīhārendurāja distinctly alludes (p. 47) to this division admitted by Bhāmaha: *bhāmaho hi "tat sahoktyupamā-*

Bhāmaha. It is possible that Bhaṭṭi's original ended naturally with *āśis*, as Bhāmaha's work itself does; but he tacked on *hetu* and *nipuṇa*[1] as two supplementary figures popular in his time. The *bhāvika*, which both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin call a *prabandha-guṇa*, is said to have been illustrated by Bhaṭṭi in a separate canto (xii), entitled *bhāvikatva-pradarśana*. But by far the greatest divergence is noticeable in the treatment of the subspecies of *yamaka*, *rūpaka* and *upamā*. No two writers are indeed agreed with regard to the treatment and classification of *yamaka*, and Bhaṭṭi on this point is scarcely in agreement with any of the known writers on the subject, such as Bharata, Daṇḍin Rudraṭa, the author of the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja among earlier authorities. Probably he is drawing upon some old author whose work is not known to us.[2] In the classification of *rūpaka*, which Bhāmaha subdivides into *samasta-vastu-viṣaya* and *ekadeśa-vivarti*, Bhaṭṭi seems to follow a different tradition which mentions four subspecies, respectively

1 This figure is included in *udāra* or *udātta* by *Jayamaṅgalā*, while Bharatamallika and Mallinātha take it as an illustration of *preyas* on the authority of Daṇḍin and Devānātha (the latter probably a commentator on Mammaṭa having the same name).

2 The names of some of these subspecies of *yamaka* are now lost but for the naming of them in Bhaṭṭi, and later authors speak in altogether different terminology. Some of these are apparently preserved in Bharata, who mentions as many as ten subspecies, but in most cases they are differently defined. For instance, the *samudga* of Bhaṭṭi may be the same figure as defined by Bharata, but the *yukpāda* of Bhaṭṭi x. 2 is called *vikrānta* by Bharata and is known as *sandaṣṭa* in Rudraṭṭa. Similarly the *pādānta* illustrated in x. 3 is called *āmreḍita* in Bharata; while *cakravāla* of Bharata is different from the figure so named in Bhaṭṭi and seems to coincide with the *kāñci* of the latter, the *kāñci* of Bharata being an altogether different subspecies. It appears that names like *vṛnta*, *mithuna*, or *vipatha* cannot be traced in any of the existing works, but some of the kinds illustrated by Bhaṭṭi under these strange names may be found under different designations in other writers later than Bhaṭṭi. In naming these in Bhaṭṭi, the *Jayamaṅgalā* is probably

designated *kamalaka* (*viśiṣṭopamā-yukta*), *avataṃsaka* (*śeṣārthānvavasita* or *khaṇḍa-rūpaka*[1]), *ardha-rūpaka* and *lalāmaka* (*anvarthopamā-yukta*). In the subspecies of *upamā*, Bhaṭṭi illustrates *upamā* with *iva* and *yathā* (in common with Bhāmaha); and his *luptopamā* and *taddhitopomā* probably correspond to some extent to *samāsopamā* and *upamā* with *vat* mentioned by Bhāmaha. But Bhaṭṭi does not illustrate *prativastūpamā* of Bhāmaha nor does he refer to *nindo*°, *praśaṃso*°, *ācikhyāso*° and *mālo*°, criticised by Bhāmaha but recognised by Daṇḍin.[2] At the same time, Bhaṭṭi's *saho*° and *samo*° have nothing directly corresponding to them in Bhāmaha.

It will be clear from this brief exposition[3] that, leaving aside the subspecies, there is a general agreement between the treatments of Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha with regard to the independent poetic figures. It may be noted that Bhāmaha agrees with Bhaṭṭi in taking *ananvaya*, *sasaṃdeha*, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* as self-standing figures, while Daṇḍin includes the first two in the sub-species of *upamā*, and the last two in those of *rūpaka* and *utprekṣā* respectively.[4] Bhāmaha also agrees with Bhaṭṭi in rejecting *prahelikā*, *sūkṣma* and *leśa*; but *vārtā* and *hetu*, also similarly rejected by Bhāmaha, are admitted by Bhaṭṭi. Daṇḍin expressly recognises all these, excepting *vārtā* in place of which he probably admits the more comprehensive *svabhāvokti*, which

1 mentioned in *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* iv. 66.

2 Bharata (xvi. 49-50) mentions *nindo*° and *praśaṃso*°, while his *kalpito*° probably corresponds to *ācikhyāso*°. The *kalpito*° is admitted by Vāmana (iv. 2. 2) but apparently defined in a different sense.

3 See also H. R. Divekar in *JRAS*, 1929, pp, pp. 825-41 for a comparison and contrast of treatment made respectively by Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi.

4 Daṇḍin is followed in this view by all later writers, except Vāmana, who still regards these as independent figures. It seems, therefore, that Vāmana vi. 3. 33 is a criticism of Daṇḍin ii. 358, and

is disfavoured by Bhāmaha and not illustrated by Bhaṭṭi. The most material discrepancy with reference to independent figures occurs in the remarkable omission in Bhaṭṭi of *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* (which, like *svabhāvokti*, is a recognised figure in later times) and in the occurrence of *nipuṇa* unknown in later literature. Coming to the subspecies, however, the discrepancies are more striking. Admitting that some of the fine differentiations, as in the case of Daṇḍin's innumerable subvarieties of independent figures, may have been invented by the ingenuity of the theorist himself, this argument does not seem to apply very well to Bhaṭṭi, who was himself no theorist but only professed to illustrate the poetic figures popular in his time and presumably based his treatment on some standard treatise. The conclusion, therefore, is likely that Bhaṭṭi made use of a text unknown to Bhāmaha but not materially differing from Bhāmaha's own sources; and that the interval between these two authors did not witness much change in the discussion of poetic figures, except what is apparent in the simplification of the treatment of *yamaka* and *rūpaka*, in the dropping of a figure like *nipuṇa* and adding an important figure or an important sub-figure like *aprastuta-praśaṃsā* or *prativastūpamā* respectively. The progress is not so remarkable as that indicated by the enormous stride made in the interval between Bharata, who mentions only four independent figures, and Bhaṭṭi, who mentions thirty-eight.[1]

1 Although the name Bhāmaha is not a common one in Sanskrit, it attaches itself (besides two verses in *Subhāṣitāvalī* 1644-1645 that are also found in our text ii. 92, iii. 21) to a commentator on Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, who is probably a different author. The *Kāmadhenu* comm. on Vāmana also cites several verses from a treatise apparently on the *kalās* by Bhāmaha (p. 29, ed. Benares); but as our Bhāmaha, as well as his *Bhāmahālaṃkāra* (p. 39), is also cited in several places in the same commentary, it is possible that these verses occurred in some lost chapter of his work where he mentioned the names of the *kalās* (*atra kalānām uddeśaḥ kṛto bhā-*

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Edition. Text (i) by K. P. Trivedi as Appendix viii to his ed. of *Pratāpa-rudra°* in BSS, Bombay 1909. The edition is based on Madras MS no. 12920 (*Cat*. xii, p. 8675). The work is named Bhāmahālaṃkāra. (ii) by P. V. Naganatha Sastry, with Eng. trs. and notes, Tanjore 1927. Also separately text only, Tanjore 1927. (iii) by B. N. Sarma and B. Upadhaya, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares 1928. None of these printed texts can serve as a critical edition. The MS material is meagre and citations from Bhāmaha in later writers have readings which have not been considered. The text at many points is unsatisfactory.

Commentary. The only known comm. is *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* by Udbhaṭa, which is now lost. See above p. 46.

DAṆḌIN

(1)

The date of Daṇḍin. author of the *Kāvyādarśa*, is one of the most difficult problems in the chronology of Alaṃkāra literature. Ānandavardhana does not directly cite him, as he cites Bhāmaha, and the earliest mention of Daṇḍin's name occurs in Pratīhārendurāja (p. 26). Daṇḍin's own work gives us hardly any clue. His references to the *Bṛhatkathā* written in *bhūta-bhāṣā* (i. 38), or to the *Setu-bandha* known to him in *māhārāṣṭrī* Prakrit (i. 34) throw little light on the question ; and no definite chronological conclusion is deducible from the verses ii. 278-79, which express, under the form of the figure *preyas*, the supreme gratification of a certain king, Rājavarman (or Rātavarman), on the occasion of his obtaining the much-coveted beatific vision of his adored deity.[1] The solution proposed to the

on the *Vṛtta-ratnākara* (pp. 5-6) quotes long passages from Bhāmaha which, if authentic, indicate that Bhāmaha might have written also on Metrics.

prahelikā in iii. 114 (also cf. iii. 112) by Taruṇavācaspati and other commentators that it refers to the Pallava kings of Kāñcī [1] only supports the Tamil tradition that Daṇḍin was probably a South Indian author. The allusion to Daṇḍin i. 1, again, in a verse attributed by Śārṅgadhara (no. 180) to Vijjā or Vijjakā (whose date is unknown but who is tentatively supposed by some to be Vijayā, wife of Caṇdrāditya and daughter-in-law of Pulakeśin II, about 659 A.D.),[2] implies merely a pleasant raillery at the expense of Daṇḍin by some later boastful poetess.

The only definite terminus to Daṇḍin's date is obtained from references in South Indian vernacular works on Alaṃkāra, belonging in all probability to the 9th century A.D., which cite him as an established authority. The Sinhalese treatise *Siya-bas-lakara*, which Barnett thinks cannot "in any case be later than the 9th century A.D."[3] cites Daṇḍin in v. 2 as one of its authorities. The Kanarese work *Kavirāja-mārga* (in three chapters), attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga (who flourished in the first half of

8; also Agashe's preface to *Daśakumāra* ed. B. S. S. pp. lxii f) to be Rājasiṃhavarman, otherwise known as Narasiṃhavarman II of Kāñcī (end of the 7th century), one of whose *birudas* (viz. *kālakāla* which is also a name of Śiva) Daṇḍin is supposed to have alluded to in iii. 50; while iii. 25 is presumed to imply a pun referring to the royal token (*mahāvarāha*) of Cālukya Pulakeśin II. But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a contemporary prince; and, as Pischel suggested, the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work referring to his story. Cf Jacobi *op. cit.* p. 214.

1 The phrase *aṣṭa-varṇa* occurring in the *prahelikā* is also found, as G. K. Sankara points out, in the Mamandur Inscription of Mahendravarman I. Premachandra on Daṇḍin interprets *puṇḍraka* instead of *pallava* in the verse, which fact indicates that it is capable of a different interpretation.—There are references to Kāverī, Cola and Kaliṅga in iv. 43-44.

2 See Agashe *op. cit.* pp. lix f.

3 *JRAS*, 1905, p. 841. The work has been edited by Hendrick

the 9th century), gives six verses[1] which are exact translations of corresponding verses in Daṇḍin. Pathak, in the introduction to his edition (1898) of this work (p. 19), further adds that in ch. iii most of the verses "are either translations or adaptations from the *Kāvyādarśa*," and that there are also convincing indications of Daṇḍin's "influence on other parts of the work" as well.

This will give us the 9th century as the lower limit to Daṇḍin's work, a conclusion which may also be established by showing that Daṇḍin was probably earlier than Vāmana, who may be assigned to the beginning of the same period. We need not enter into this point in detail here, but there are several unmistakable indications which show that Vāmana's work betrays a further progress in the elaboration of some of the fundamental ideas which are dealt with by Daṇḍin. The stress which Daṇḍin puts on the theory of Rīti (which he calls Mārga) is carried to its furthest extreme by Vāmana, who elevates Rīti to the rank of the very essence of poetry. While Daṇḍin mentions two types of Mārga, Vāmana adds an intermediate third Rīti ; and from Mammaṭa ix. 4 we learn that Vāmana was the first to suggest this threefold division.[2] Again, while Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin apparently engage in a controversy over the classification of Kāvya into Kathā and Ākhyāyikā, Vāmana peremptorily brushes aside all discussion and refers the curious reader to the works of "others."[3] Daṇḍin is also anxious to show, in the course of a long digression, that the word *iva* is indicative of *utprekṣā* (which figure itself is admitted by Bhāmaha ii. 88 only in

1 viz., those defining *asādhāraṇopamā, asaṁbhavopamā, anuśayākṣepa, viśeṣokti, hetu* and *atiśayokti* respectively.

2 It is noteworthy also that Daṇḍin is unaware of the more or less technical term *rīti,* made so familiar by Vāmana, but uses the almost synonymous expression *mārga,* also used by Vāmana in iii. 1. 12.

deference to the views of Medhāvin); but to Vāmana (iv. 3. 9, *vṛtti*) it is already an established fact. Such instances can be easily multiplied, but what is given here will be enough to indicate Daṇḍin's priority to Vāmana,[1] and fix the lower limit of his date at the end of the 8th and the commencement of the 9th century[2].

1 It is supposed by Kielhorn (with whom Peterson in his pref. to *Daśakumāra* agrees) that Daṇḍin ii. 51, in which some of the *upamā-doṣas* are justified, is directed against Vāmana iv. 2. 8f, implying thereby that Daṇḍin is later than Vāmana. But if we take the texts of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana together on this point, we can only make out the following facts. Bhāmaha, in accordance with the opinion of Medhāvin, brings forward (ii. 39-40) seven *upamā-doṣas*, viz., deficiency (*hīnatva*), impossibility (*asaṃbhava*), disparity of gender (*liṅga-bheda*), disparity of number (*vacana-bheda*), contrariety (*viparyaya*), excess (*adhikatva*) and non-similitude (*asādṛśya*.) Daṇḍin, tacitly assuming these, only remarks about two pairs of them (viz. disparity of gender and number, excess and deficiency) that they do not necessarily disturb comparison if they do not wound the cultivated sensibility. In this he is substantially following Bhāmaha, who says generally that the *upameya* cannot in every respect be similar to the *upamāna* (ii. 43), a dictum which is implicitly accepted by most later writers, who define *upamā* as *bhedābheda-pradhāne upamā.* Therefore, deficiency etc. become faults only when they disturb the sense of appreciation of the man of taste. Vāmana, on the other hand, mentions six *upamā-doṣas* instead of seven, including *viparyaya* in *adhikatva* and *hīnatva* (iv. 2. 11 *vṛtti*), with the final pointed remark : *ata evāsmākaṃ mate ṣaḍ doṣāḥ.* It appears, therefore, that Daṇḍin ii. 51f is a link in the chain between Bhāmaha ii. 39f and Vāmana iv. 2. 8f

2 Pischel's argument (pref. to *Śṛṅg. til.*) that Daṇḍin is identical with the author of *Mṛcchakaṭika* on the ground that Daṇḍin ii. 362 (st. *limpatīva*, ed. Bibl. Indica) occurs also in that drama (ed. N.S.P. 1916, i. 34) lands us, apart from other objections, in the absurdity of identifying Daṇḍin with Bhāsa as well, inasmuch as the same verse is also found in the so-called Bhāsa-damas, *Cārudatta* (i. 19) and *Bāla-carita* (i. 15). The attribution, again, of the same verse in Śārṅgadhara 3603 and Vallabhadeva 1890 to Bhartṛmeṇṭha and Vikramāditya further discredits Pischel's theory. The occurrence of the verse in

(2)

The upper limit is not so easy to settle. Peterson, following Maheśacandra Nyāyaratna, points out[1] that Daṇḍin ii. 197 is a reminiscence of a passage in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* p. 102, l. 16. (ed. BSS), and Jacobi is inclined to accept this view. Bāṇa lived about 606-647 A. D. in the reign of king Harṣa, whose biographer he was. Jacobi also points out a resemblance between Daṇḍin ii. 302 and Māgha ii. 4. Pathak, again, remarks[2] that Daṇḍin's threefold classification of *karman* into *nirvartya, vikārya* and *prāpya* (ii. 240) is taken from Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* iii. 45f. Bhartṛhari, according to Yi-tsing died about 651 A.D., while Māgha probably belonged to the second half to the 7th century[3]. Thus Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari

on this point) only shows that Daṇḍin did not disdain to borrow well-known verses for purposes of illustration and criticism, as he himself admits in a general way in i. 2. It should also be noted that in the Bibl. Indica ed. of the text, the verse is given twice (1) as a half-verse quotation in ii. 226 and (2) in full ii. 362. But this reading, on which apparently Pischel's theory was based, is doubtful, and is contrary to readings in other MSS. In the Tibetan version of the text (*JRAS*, 1903), as well as in the Madras edition, the verse occurs only once as a half-verse quotation in ii. 226, the full verse being omitted in the text and given in the Madras ed. only in the accompanying commentary. Pischel is hardly accurate in stating that Prat̄itārendu attributes this verse to Daṇḍin; for the commentator, in the course of his discussion on *utprekṣā* simply says (p. 26) that Daṇḍin has already discussed at great length that the verse *limpt̄iva* is an illustration of *utprekṣā* containing *at̄iśaya*.

1 Pref. to *Daśakumāra*ᶜ, new ed. 1919, p. ix. Other such reminiscences are presumed in Daṇḍin i. 45 (= *Śakuntalā* i. 20, ed. M. Williams; Cf. *JRAS*, 1905 p. 841f), ii. 286 (=*Raghu* viii. 57), ii. 129 (=*Śakuntalā* i. 26) etc. Taruṇavācaspati is of opinion (on i. 2) that Daṇḍin consulted the usages of poets like Kālidāsa. See other parallel passages collected together by Agashe (preface to *Daśakumāra*, pp. liv f).

2 *IA* xli, 1912 p. 237.

3 See Kielhorn in *GN*, 1906, p. 143-46. Cf Māgha ii. 83 where he shows himself fully conversant with Poetics; also ii. 8, 86, 87,

and Māgha probably all belong the same age and flourished in the first half or the middle of the 7th century.

These evidences, although suggestive, do not in their nature appear to be decisive ; and we are ultimately thrown upon the question of Daṇḍin's relation to Bhāmaha, which might support these evidences and with reference to which indeed the chronology of Daṇḍin should be settled. If Bhāmaha's priority to Daṇḍin can be definitely established, then we arrive with this at a more or less satisfactory limit to the date of the latter. The question is, no doubt, beset with many difficulties ; but so far as a comparative study of their respective texts indicates, the presumption is strong in favour of Bhāmaha's priority ; because, while Daṇḍin criticises Bhāmaha's innovations, Bhāmaha apparently never does so in cases of Daṇḍin's innovations which are indeed much more numerous. The materials for such a critical study (apart from a consideration of their general theories) consist of several passage, occurring in their respective texts, which are either (1) identical or very similar in phraseology, or (2) so closely related to each other that the one author appears to be criticising the other. As the question has already engaged a great deal of controversy[1], which has thrashed out almost all the details we will here discuss it very briefly. As instances of the first group of passages, we may cite Bh i. 20ab and D i. 7cd ; Bh. i. 17cd and D i. 29ab (definition of Mahākāvya) ; Bh ii. 66ab and D ii. 4cd (enumertion of certain Alaṃkāras) ;

xiii. 69, xiv. 50, xix. 37, xx. 44 (where he refers to Bharata).—On Māgha's date, see S. K. De, *Hist. Skt. Lit.* Calcutta 1942, pp. 88-89 and references contained therein.

1 M T. Narasimhiengar in *JRAS*. 1905, pp. 53f ; K. B. Pathak in *JBRAS* xxiii, p. 19 ; R. Narasimhachar in *IA* xli, 1912, p. 90 ; p. 232 ; Trivedi, introd. to *Pratāparuara* p. 32 and *IA*, xlii, 1913, p. 258-74 ; H. Jacobi in *ZDMG*, lxiv, p. 134, in *SBAW*, xxiv, 1922 (Bhāmaha und Daṇḍin, ihr Alter etc), p. 210-226, and xxxi, 1928 (Zur Frühgeschichte d ind. Poetik) ; J. Nobel in *ZDMG*, lxxiii, 1919, p. 190f and his *Beitraege zur aelteren Geschichte des Alaṃkāraśāstra*, Berlin 1911, p. 78 ; P. V. Kane in *HSP*. pp. 96-108, etc.

Bh ii. 87ab and D ii. 244ab (illustration of Vārtā) ; Bh iii.1ab and D ii. 5cd (enumeration of certain Alaṃkāras) ; Bh iii. 53 and D iii. 363 (the figure Bhāvika) ; Bh iii. 5 and D ii. 276 (illustration of Preyas) ; Bh iv. 1-2 and D iv. 2-3 (enumeration of Doṣas) ; Bh iv. 8ab and D iv. 5ab (definition of Apārtha). The verbal coincidence in these passages is so striking that there can be no doubt that it should be taken as something more than merely accidental. It does not, however, preclude the possibility of their being taken from a common source, or being standardised definitions or enumerations common enough in such technical treatises.

The second group of passages, also betraying enough verbal similarity, is more interesting and important ; because they certainly express contradictory views of their respective authors, if not actually meant as direct mutual criticism. In two of these passages, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are, each in his turn, rejecting an illustration which is adduced by the other, but both citing the illustration in question in exactly identical phraseology. Thus, Bhāmaha cites and rejects (ii. 87), after the figure *hetu*, the illustration *gato'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ*, characterising it as bad poetry, to which he says, some writers give the name of *vārtā*. Daṇḍin does not mention *vārtā*, but approvingly cites (ii. 244) the same half-verse under the figure *hetu*, pointedly remarking that the illustration under discussion is good. Similarly, the half-verse *himāpahāmitra-dharair* is given as an instance of the fault *avācaka* by Bhāmaha (i. 41), but Daṇḍin gives the verse in full in a different context (iii. 120) as an example of a variety of *prahelikā* ; Bhāmaha apparently condemning it as faulty, while Daṇḍin taking it as a piece of ingenious construction. Taking the examples in their contexts as quoted from a common source, the passages apparently indicate that Daṇḍin is not in agreement with Bhāmaha (who condemns these) but expressly justifies their propriety.

A closer contact of views and similarity of expression are to be found in those passages in this group, which relate to

(1) the discussion of the comparative merits of the *gauḍīya* and *vaidarbha mārgas* (Bh i. 31-35 and D i. 40 f) (2) the distinction between prose *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* (Bh i. 25f and D i. 23f), and (3) the enumeration of the ten *doṣas* (Bh iv. 1-2 and D iv. 2-4) ; and those who maintain Daṇḍin's priority to Bhāmaha hold that in these cases the latter is undoubtedly criticising the former. In the first of these instances, Bhāmaha's remarks merely show that he is more or less indifferent to the literary value of Mārga or Rīti as modes of composition, and laughs at the distinction which some writers make between *gauḍa* and *vaidarbha* types, himself giving preference, if any, to the former. In his opinion, as he says in the next verse (i. 36), what is important in poetry is not Rīti but Vakrokti. It appears that the view which Bhāmaha is criticising was traditional or referred to as a matter of common controversy, as he himself says in this connexion: *gatānugatika-nyāyān nānākhyeyam amedhasām*. Jacobi points out that the Gauḍa Mārga, long before Daṇḍin, could never establish for itself a good reputation, and Bāṇa had already condemned it as *akṣara-ḍambara* (*Harṣa-carita* i. 7). Daṇḍin, on the other hand, attaches great importance to Rīti in poetry which under the name *mārga*, occupies a considerable part of his treatment ; but he acknowledges, in spite of his own distinguishing of two such extreme types as *gauḍa* and *vaidarbha*, that there are other intermediate modes finely differentiated (i. 40), and that the types admitted by him are not capable of exact definition (i 101f), although he himself prefers the *vaidarbha*. It may also be added that Bhāmaha is unaware of the peculiar analysis of *mārga* given by Daṇḍin with reference to the ten essential *guṇas*, but he mentions casually (and not in connexion with Rīti) only three *guṇas* which may be admitted in all good composition. The respective characterisation, again, of the two Rītis has hardly any point of contact, and Bhāmaha's remarks, if supposed to be levelled against Daṇḍin in particular, are certainly off the mark ; for each of them approaches the

subject from the standpoints of entirely different schools of opinion[1].

Similar remarks apply to the other two cases, in which one hardly finds any direct reference by Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin does not accept as characteristic or essential those marks of distinction between a Kathā and an Ākhyāyikā which Bhāmaha enumerates, and apparently quotes in this connexion the half-verse i. 29ab from Bhāmaha i. 27cd. The distinction, denied by Daṇḍin, is admitted (along with Bhāmaha) by earlier as well as later writers ; for Bāṇa designates his *Harṣacarita* as an *ākhyāyikā* and his *Kādambarī* as a *kathā*[2], and some such distinction is also implied by the *Amara-kośa*. With regard to the other passages which enumerate the Doṣas, it appears that Bhāmaha, following the traditional recounting of ten orthodox Doṣas (cf Bharata xvi. 84)[3] mentions the same number of Doṣas, but adds that *pratijñā-hetu-dṛṣṭānta-hīnatva* is not desirable in poetry (iv. 2). At the same time, this eleventh defect is interesting to him from the standpoint of logical exposition, and he deals with it in v. 1f,[4] apparently considering that defective logic is also to be looked upon generally as a notable flaw in a composition. Daṇḍin enumerates the same ten Doṣas (iv. 2-3) in exactly similar phraseology, and conservatively maintains the view (iv. 4) that the so-called eleventh fault is difficult to judge and unprofitable to discuss[5].

1 This point will be discussed in detail below in vol. ii.

2 See Taruṇavācaspati's remarks on Daṇḍin i. 25.

3 The definitions, however, do not agree. See Jacobi *op. cit*, p. 222f.

4 For Bhāmaha's exposition of logic in relation to other philosophical writers see K. B. Pathak in *ABORI*, xii. pp. 372-87.

5 Emphasis is also put on some verbal resemblance between Bh i. 22 and D i. 21-22. In these passages, however, the standpoints of the two theorists are quite distinct, although they use somewhat similar phrases. Bhāmaha here expresses his disapproval of a disastrous ending, perhaps in conformity with a similar conventional prohibition in the drama. Daṇḍin, on the other hand, takes the ultimate triumph of the hero for granted, and does not trouble him-

From the above discussion, the conclusion is very probable that Daṇḍin was familiar with the text of Bhāmaha whom, as a notable predecessor expressing contrary views, he could hardly ignore. On this point we have the almost unanimous testimony of Daṇḍin's commentators[1], who expressly state that in most of these disputed passages Daṇḍin controverts the earlier opinions of Bhāmaha. It will not be necessary, therefore, to enter here into the details of their respective theories, which not only indicate some fundamental and important differences, as one should expect in writers belonging to two different schools of opinion, but also the fact that Daṇḍin, in dealing with most of the topics, has gone into greater details and finer distinctions, apparently betokening that in his age the study was more advanced and fraught with greater complexity than in that of Bhāmaha[2].

self about the admittedly forbidden tragic ending. He appears to express the view that it is artistically more effective if the rival of the hero is set forth at the outset in all his glory and then his downfall is secured through the superior virtue of the hero himself. One does not also find any point in Bhāmaha ii. 37-38, which criticises the classification of the figure *upamā* into many subvarieties (like *nindo°*, *praśaṃso°* and *ācikhyāso°*) but which is taken by some to imply an attack on Daṇḍin's elaborate subdivision of the same figure. The *tri-prakāratvam* cannot possibly refer to Daṇḍin, who mentions not three but thirty-two subvarieties: while *nindo°*, *praśaṃso°* etc. are also mentioned by Bharata.

1 e. g. Taruṇavācaspati on i. 23-24, 29; ii. 235, 237, 358; iv. 4 etc; Harinātha on i. 15 (cited in *ABod* 206b); Vādijaṅghāla on i. 21.

2 See, for instance, their respective views on *rīti*, *guṇa* and *doṣa*, on *alaṃkāra* (which last element Daṇḍin does not distinguish fundamentally from *guṇas*, ii. 3.), on *vakrokti* (Bh ii. 85 and D ii. 362); their respective order of treatment of *alaṃkāras* (which Bhāmaha deals with in successive groups, while Daṇḍin's thirty-five independent poetic figures are given as if they are well recognised); Daṇḍin's minute and fine differentiation of infinite sub-species of individual figures; their respective treatment of *yamaka, upamā, utprekṣā, ananvaya* and *sasaṃdeha, upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* (which last four Daṇḍin does not accept as independent figures) etc. These points will be discussed in detail in the next volume.

If this conclusion of Bhāmaha's probable priority is accepted, then we get his date as the upper limit to that of Daṇḍin, the lower limit being, as already discussed, the same as that of Bhāmaha, namely the date of Udbhaṭa's contemporary, Vāmana. Daṇḍin, therefore, flourished probably in the first half of the 8th century.[1]

(3)

There cannot be any doubt that Daṇḍin, like Bhāmaha, must have been indebted to his predecessors ; and if he does not mention any one of them by name, he gives enough evidence of his having utilised their works, including that of Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin, however, makes a general acknowledgment in i. 2, and refers to the opinions of "others" and of "learned men" (e.g. i. 9, 10 ; ii. 2, 7, 9, 54 ; iii. 106) ; while he makes no secret of his having "observed" and probably borrowed his illustrations from earlier poets, to whom reference[2] is made in i. 30,100 ; ii. 65, 223, 225, 363 ; iv.7, 32, 42, 57. The *Hṛdayaṅgama* commentary on i. 2 mentions in particular two authors, named Kāśyapa and Vararuci (vi. 2 ; ii. 7), whose works Daṇḍin is supposed to have utilised. Similarly in Vādijaṅghāla's *Śrutānupālinī* commentary Kāśyapa, Brahmadatta and Nandisvāmin are spoken of as Daṇḍin's predecessors. These may be mythical or traditional names ; but Kāśyapa is also mentioned by another admirer of Daṇḍin's who composed the Sinhalese rhetorical work already referred to. He is known to Abhinavagupta as a Muni who preceded Bharata, and his opinion on Rāgas is cited in *Abhinavabhāratī*. Kallinātha on *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (ii. 2. 31) quotes

1 The question whether our Daṇḍin is identical with Daṇḍin, author of *Daśakumāra-carita*, does not concern us here ; on this see S. K. De, *History of Sansk. Lit.* Calcutta 1947, pp. 207-9. Of his personal history nothing is known, unless we hold that the two Daṇḍins are identical and are prepared to accept the *Avantisundarī-kathā* (ed. M. R. Kavi, Madras 1924) as a work of Daṇḍin. See S. K. De, *Aspects of Skt. Lit.*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 296-308.

2 See this point discussed in Agashe *op. cit.* pp. liii f.

three verses of Kāśyapa . and among old authorities on music he is mentioned by Nānyadeva (11th-12th century) who mentions also Bṛhat-Kāśyapa and Vṛddha-Kāśyapa. The *Pañca-sāyaka*, on the other hand, cites him (iv. 19) as an authority on Erotics, and the *Agni-purāṇa* as an authority on Metrics. One Kāśyapa is cited by Pāṇini in viii. 4. 67, and a grammarian Kāśyapa, as Aufrecht notes, is quoted by Mādhava.

Pischel[1] has already negatived the suggestions of Premachandra Tarkavagish[2], Peterson[3] and Jacobi[4] that Daṇḍin in i. 12 refers by the word *chando-viciti* to a treatise of his own, so named, on the subject of prosody. The word, however as indicated by Daṇḍin himself in the same verse, by his reference to it as *sā vidyā*, does not necessarily mean any particular treatise but the science of prosody in general[5] ; for which, in addition to the references given by Pischel, one need only cite Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* (i. 3.1) and Āpastamba *Dharma-sūtra* ii. 4. 8, where the word *chando-viciti* occurs ; also Rājaśekhara p. 6 and Hemacandra, Comm. p. 5. In iv. 49, again, Daṇḍin refers to a *kalā-pariccheda*, which Peterson takes to be a clear reference to another work of Daṇḍin's ; but the reference is more likely to an additional or supplementary chapter to his *Kāvyādarśa*, as Taruṇavācaspati suggests (p. 282). It is noteworthy that the *Kāmadhenu* commentary on Vāmana similarly quotes from a lost work or chapter of Bhāmaha's on the *kalās*[6].

Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* consists three Paricchedas or chapters (four in M. Rangacharya's ed.) and about 660 verses. The topics comprehended are : I. Definition and division of Kāvya; the two Mārgas (Vaidarbha and Gauḍa) and ten Guṇas

1 Pref. to *Sṛng. til.* p. 14 f.
2 On Daṇḍin i. 12.
3 Introd. to *Daśakumāra* p. ix-x.
4 *Ind. Stud.* xvii p. 447.
5 See P. V. Kane in *IA*, 1911, p. 177.
6 See above p. 57 footnote.

pertaining to them ; the essential requirements of a good poet (Pratibhā, Śruta and Abhiyoga). II. Definition of Alaṃkāra, and enumeration and description of 35 Arthālaṃkāras viz. *svabhāvokti, upamā, rūpaka, dīpaka, āvṛtti, ākṣepa, arthāntara-nyāsa, vyatireka, vidhāvanā, samāsokti, atiśayokti, utprekṣā, hetu, sūkṣma, leśa* or *lava, yathāsaṃkhya* or *krama, preyas, rasavat, ūrjasvi, paryāyokta, samāhita, udātta, apahnuti, śleṣa, viśeṣokti, tulyayogitā, virodha, aprastuta-praśaṃsā, vyājokti, nidarśanā, sahokti, parivṛtti, āśīḥ, saṃkīrṇa* and *bhāvika*. III. Elaborate treatment of Śabdālaṃkāras, namely *yamaka, citra-bandha* and 16 varieties of *prahelikā*; ten Doṣas (in ch. iv in Rangacharya's ed,).

(4)

Commentators On Daṇḍin

The commentaries on Daṇḍin, as the following Bibliography will show, are numerous. Most of these are comparatively modern, excepting perhaps that of Taruṇavācaspati as well as the anonymous commentary called *Hṛdayaṅgama*, both printed in the Madras edition. With this exception, they are hardly useful for an historical or critical study of Daṇḍin.

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commentary of Ratnaśrījñāna who follows the Tibetan version of the text, by Anantalal Thakur and U. Jha. Mithila Institute, Darbhanga 1957. (8) ed. D. T. Tatācharya with Hṛdayaṅgama, and comms. of Vādijaṅghāla and Taruṇavācaspati, Bombay(?) 1941. (10) ed. V. Krishnamachari, with the commentary of Vādijaṅgāla, Srinivasa Press, Tiruvadi 1936. Our references are to the Madras edition of M. Rangacharya unless otherwise indicated: this edition divides the work into four chapters instead of three.

Commentaries. (1) by Taruṇavācaspati, *Madras Cat.* xii, 12834. Printed as noted above. It appears to be an old comm. But as it cites (on i. 40) Bhoja ii. 28, as well *Daśarūpaka* i. 8 (in comm. on i. 31), it cannot be placed very early. This commentary also refers (on i. 30) to a poet Hastimalla who may be the Jaina Hastimallasena who wrote dramas and poems. Keśava Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Taruṇavācaspati, was Guru of Mahārājādhirāja Rāmanātha (the Hoysala Vīra Rāmanātha) who came to the throne in 1255 A D. See V. Raghavan in *JOR*, xiii. at p. 305. So Taruṇavācaspati's date would be the end of the 12th and first half of the 13th century. In the colophon to some MSS he is called 'Sādhu'.

(2) *Hṛdayaṅgama* by an anonymous author. *Madras Cat.* 12833. Printed as above (ch. i-ii only). The comments on Daṇḍin ii. 284, 286, 288, 289-91 are quoted *verbatim* but anonymously by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (ch. xi).

(3) *Mārjanā* by Harinātha, son of Viśvadhara and younger brother of Keśava. *ABod* 206b ; Peterson vi p. 30 (extract). MS in BORI (*Catalogue* xii, no. 124) copied in Saṃvat 1746=1690 A.D. Hārinātha also wrote a comm. on Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-k.*° He must be later than Keśava Miśra whose work on Alaṃkāra he cites.

(4) *Muktāvalī* by Narasiṃha-sūri, son of Gadādhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇa-śarman. Mitra 2394 (Aufrecht i. 102b).

(5) *Candrikā* by Triśaraṇataṭabhīma. Mentioned in Hall's *Index*, p. 63.

(6) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Viśvanātha. Oppert 4112 (Aufrecht i. 103a).

(7) *Vivṛti* or *Kāvya-tattva-viveka-kaumudī* by Kṛṣṇa-kiṃkara Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya of Gopālapura in Bengal. *IOC* pt. iii, no. 1128/1497, p. 321.

(8) *Śrutānupālinī* by Vādijaṅghāla (or °ghaṅghala). Printed as noted above. Stein pp. 61, xxviii, extract no. 1179. The *Report of Peripatetic Party of Madras MSS Lib.* 1917-19 mentions an acquisition of this comm. for the Library. MS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 125. The comm. mentions Kāśyapa, Brahmadatta and Nandisvāmin as predecessors of Daṇḍin.

(9) Comm. by Bhagīratha. Aufrecht i. 102b.

(10) Comm. by Vijayānanda. MS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 123 (incomplete).

(11) *Vaimalya-vidhāyinī* by Mallinātha, son of Jagannātha. Aufrecht ii. 20a. This is perhaps the same Mallinātha as is referred to by Viśveśvara in *Alaṃkaus*°, p. 69 as a commentator on *Kāvyādarśa*; and he should be distinguised from the better known Kolācala Mallinātha.

(12) Comm. (incomplete) by Tribhuvanacandra, otherwise called Vādisiṃha, a Jaina. HPS iii, no. 57.

(13) Comm. by Yāmuna or Yāmuneya. MSS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 126. It is probably a South Indian work which divides the *Kāvyādarśa* into 4 chapters, as in Madras ed. of Rangacharya.

(14) *Ratnaśrī* by Ratnaśrījāna. Ed. as descibed above. The author was a Ceylonese monk who wrote under the patronage of some Rāṣṭrakuṭa king, named Tuṅga, under the overlordsip of Rājyapāla of Gauḍa and Magadha (c. 908 A. D.). Authors quoted, besides Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, are Mātṛceṭa, Āryaśūra, Kohala, Rāma-śarman, Medhāvirudra, Kambala, Harivṛddha, Bhāmaha, Bhar-

tṛmeṇṭha, Guṇādhya, *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa,* Mallanāga, and Dharmakīrti.

(15) Anoymous Comms. in Mitra 297, Oppert 7903; *SCC* vii 21. A comm. by Dharmavācaspati in Oppert 2581 is probably a mistake for Taruṇavācaspati. Regnaud (*Rhêtorique*, p. 367 fn) also mentions a commentary by Vācaspati and refers to Taylor ii 501; which work probably refers also to this commentary.

UDBHAṬA

(1)

Udbhaṭa, who wrote a commentary named *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* or °*vivṛti*[1] on Bhāmaha, as well as utilised the latter's work[2] in his *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha,* certainly lived before the final exposition of the Dhvani-theory by Ānandavardhana[3] who, in the middle of the 9th century, actually cites Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa twice at pp. 96, 108. Udbhaṭa's name indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. Kahlaṇa (iv. 495) mentions a certain Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa who was a *sabhāpati* of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (about 779-813 A. D.); and Bühler, to whom we owe the discovery of Udbhaṭa's work in Kashmir, identifies him with the author of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha* (or °*sāra-saṃgraha*). Accepting this identification,

1 The *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* is frequently mentioned and cited by later writers; e.g. Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* (p. 10, 40, 134, 159), Hemachandra (Comm. p. 17, 110), Māṇikyacandra (*Saṃketa,* ed. Mysore p. 289), Samudrabandha (on *Alam. sarvasva,* p. 89). Pratīhārendurāja (p. 13) etc.

2 Udbhaṭa seems to have taken over almost *verbatim* from Bhāmaha the definitions of *ākṣepa, vibhāvanā, atiśayokti, kathāsaṃkhya, utprekṣā paryāyokta, apahnuti, virodha, aprastuta-praśaṃsā sahokti, sasaṃdeha* and *ananvaya.* The poetic figures are enumerated almost in the same order as that of Bhāmaha. But Udbhaṭa omits a few Alaṃkāras defined by Bhāmaha (e. g. *yamaka, upamā-rūpaka, utprekṣāvayava*) and adds a few not defined by the latter (e. g. *punaruktavad-ābhāsa, kāvyaliṅga, dṛṣṭānta* and *saṃkara*).

3 Cf the opinions of Pratīhārendurāja (p. 79), Ruyyaka and Jayaratha (p. 3) and Jagannātha (pp. 414-5).

4 *Kashmir Rep* p. 65.

we should, however, place the most flourishing period of Udbhaṭa's activity, as Jacobi points out, in the first part of Jayāpīḍa's rather long reign; because this sovereign in the latter part of his career appears to have alienated the Brahmans by his oppression of the people. Udbhaṭa, therefore, should be assigned to the end of the 8th century, and he may have lived into the beginning of the 9th.

Besides the lost *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, Pratīhārendurāja tells us (p. 15) that Udbhaṭa wrote a poem called *Kumāra-saṃbhava*, from which are taken most of the illustrations in the text.

We have already mentioned above that Udbhaṭa probably wrote also a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, but it is no longer available. The followers of Udbhaṭa or the Audbhaṭas are mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Bharata.

Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra-saṃgraha* consists of six chapters (called Vargas), contains 75 Kārikās in Anuṣṭubh with 95 illustrations, and deals with 41 Alaṃkāras. Some verses are assigned to Udbhaṭa in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* 498, 1463, 3453, of which no. 498 is a well known gnomic stanza found also in such collections as the *Cāṇakya-śataka*. Although closely following Bhāmaha in the treatment of Alaṃkāras, Udbhaṭa has certain views peculiar to himself, which are either absent in Bhāmaha or in which he differs from his predecessor. For instance, Bhāmaha speaks of three kinds of Śleṣa while Udbhaṭa mentions two kinds, and the basis of classification is different; Udbhaṭa's three Vṛttis, on which the classification of Anuprāsa proceeds, are absent in Bhāmaha[1]

(2)

MUKULA AND PRATĪHĀRENDURĀJA

Pratīhārendurāja, Udbhaṭa's commentator, was, as he himself tells us, a native of Koṅkana and a pupil of Mukula.

1 For more instances see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 127-28.—For a résumé of the topics covered by Udbhaṭa's work see vol. ii. ch. ii(2).

Mukula is known to us as the author of *Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātṛkā*, a work on the grammatico-rhetorical question of Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇa, consisting of 15 Kārikās with Vṛtti. From the last verse of this work we learn that the author's father was Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who lived, according to Kahlaṇa v. 66, in the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.)[1] and was, therefore, a contemporary of Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana. Accepting Kahlaṇa's statement, Mukula should be placed roughly towards the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th. His pupil Pratīhārendurāja, therefore, belongs approximately to the first half of the 10th century.[2] In his commentary on Udbhaṭa, called °*Laghu-vṛtti*, Pratīhārendu quotes from Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, the *Dhvanyāloka* and Rudraṭa, actually naming most of them, and appears to be fairly familiar with the Dhvani-theory, as explained by Ānandavardhana, to which, however, he does not subscribe.

Peterson appears to suggest[3] the identification of Pratīhārendurāja with Bhaṭṭendurāja, whom Abhinavagupta refers to as *asmad-upādhyāya* in his *Locana* (pp. 25, 43, 116, 160, 207, 223) as well as in his commentary on Bharata, where this teacher is quoted sometimes simply as *upādhyāya*. At the commencement and close of his *Locana*,[4] Abhinavagupta indicates his immense indebtedness to this teacher, and in one place (p. 160) we find in his praise the somewhat grandiloquent epithet *vidvat-kavi-sahṛdaya-cakravartin*; which together with the fact that Abhinava also indicates that he learnt Kāvya from Bhaṭṭendurāja will go to support the conjecture

1 Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 66, 78

2 Cf. Pischel, Pref. to *Śṛṅgtil.* p. 12.

3 Introd. to *Subhāṣ°*, p. 11, but *contra* in Aufrecht i 59a. Banhatti's more recent advocacy of identity is hardly based on substantial and convincing reasons. The only instance where the two Indurājas are confused or identified occurs in Samudrabandha p. 132; but this is no strong evidence.

4 ed. Kāvyamālā p. 1; and ch. iv in *JDL*. 1922, p. 42 (reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems* p. 245 f).

that this preceptor was apparently well versed in both the theory and practice of poetry. Although chronology does not stand in the way, there are several reasons which might induce one to distinguish the two Indurājas. From Abhinava's commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*[1], we learn that Bhaṭṭendu was son of Śrībhūtirāja and grandson of Saucuka of the Kātyāyana gotra; but of Pratīhārendu's genealogy or personal history we know nothing, except that he was a Kauṅkaṇa and a pupil of Mukula.[2] Bhaṭṭendu appears chiefly as a poet who wrote, as Abhinava's quotations show, in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and whose verses apparently supplied a ready source of apt poetic illustrations to his pupil's works, probably inspired by himself. If some of his opinions on Rasa and allied topics are quoted by Abhinava in his commentary on Bharata, they bear no kinship to Pratīhārendu's views, as expressed in the latter's commentary on Udbhaṭa. Although the prefixes Bhaṭṭa and Pratīhāra, being mere honorific titles, need not make any serious difference, Abhinava's citation of his teacher always as Bhaṭṭendurāja (and never as Pratīhārendurāja) is somewhat remarkable; and in view of the fact that these two Indurājas were probably contemporaries, might this not indicate that Abhinava meant to imply a difference? The two writers are never confused even in later anthologies, for the poet it always designated Indurāja[3] or Bhaṭṭendurāja. The conjecture, therefore, is not unlikely that Abhinava's teacher may have been the poet Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is quoted under this designation in

1 Bühler, *op. cit.* pp. 80 and cxlxii-viii.

2 It is curious that Abhinava, who takes care to refer to most of his teachers and "teacher of teachers" (*parama-guru*) should have omitted a reference to Mukula, whose work, if he was a *parama-guru*, should have been important to him, inasmuch as it dealt with the quasi-rhetorical question of the functions of word and its sense.

3 Two verses of Indurājā are cited at 287 and 306 (Kavi's ed. of *Nāṭya-śāstra*.)

Kṣemendra's two works[1] as well as in the poetical anthologies[2] of Śārṅgadhara, Vallabhadeva and Jahlaṇa. The commentator Pratīhārendurāja, on the other hand, was never known for his poetical pretensions, and was chiefly a writer on Poetics, who obviously belonged in his views to the older system of Udbhaṭa and did not, as Abhinava did, believe in newly established doctrine of Dhvani, with which, however, he appears to be fully conversant. Referring to this new theory of Ānandavardhana, Pratīhārendu states in one place (p. 79) that what is known as Dhvani and taken to be "the soul" of Poetry by some thinkers is included implicitly by his author Udbhaṭa in the treatment of some of the poetic figures under discussion, and therefore need not be separately considered. Bhaṭṭendurāja, on the other hand, appears to have favoured the new theory of Dhvani ; for Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 2) tells us that this teacher of his explained to him the Maṅgala-śloka of Ānanda's Vṛtti in the light of the Dhvani-theory. The standpoints of Pratīhārendurāja and Abhinava are so divergent that it is difficult to admit any spiritual relationship between the two ; for the former was in no way an adherent of the Dhvani-theory, of which Abhinava was a recognised advocate.

(3)

RĀJĀNAKA TILAKA

Jayaratha, commenting on Ruyyaka's (or Rucaka's) *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, refers in more than one place (ed. NSP 1893, pp. 15, 124, 205) to an *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-*

1 *Aucit, vic.* under *śl.* 25, 31 ; *Suvṛtta-til°* under *śl.* 2, 24, 29, 30.

2 *Subhāṣitāvalī* 918. The verse *parārthe yaḥ pīḍām*, ascribed to Indurāja in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara (1052), is quoted anonymously twice by Ānandavardhana (pp. 53, 218), a fact which, however, is not decisive ; because Abhinava's commentary is silent as to the authorship of this verse, which occurs in *Bhallaṭa-śataka* 56 and is ascribed to another poet Yaśas in the *Subhāṣ°* 947. The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* attributes it to Vākpati, while Hemachandra (Comm. p. 257) and Jayaratha (p. 108) cite it anonymously.

vicāra by Rājānaka Tilaka, and states that Ruyyaka generally followed the views propounded by Tilaka. We know that a Rājānaka Tilaka was Ruyyaka's father. An anonymous commentary, entitled *Vivṛti*, has been published in the Gaekwad's Series (see below under Bibliography)[1], along with the text of Udbhaṭa commented upon. It has been claimed by the editor of this publication that the *Vivṛti* is identical with the *Viveka* or *Vicāra* cited by Jayaratha. Attention was drawn to this commentary in a notice of its unique MS, existing in the Madras Govt Oriental MS Library by the present writer[2], as well as by Banhatti about the same time in his edition of Udbhaṭa's work. Banhatti is rather cautious in his discussion of the question of identity, but he appears to be inclined to the view that the *Vivṛti* is "evidently a distinct work from the *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *-vicāra* of Rājānaka Tilaka mentioned by Jayaratha." The editor of the *Vivṛti*, however, makes an elaborate attempt to demonstrate that the *Vivṛti* cannot but be taken as the lost *Viveka* or *Vicāra* of Tilaka[3]. The evidence adduced is plausible indeed, but does not appear to be conclusive, and in the absence of more definite data it would be better to leave the question open. That this anonymous commentary is late is evidenced not only by its content but also by its citation of Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśāla-bhañjikā*, as well as by its obvious appropriation of Mammaṭa's standard work. Its value as an exegetical work cannot be placed too high.

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1 See a review by the present writer in *JRAS*, 1934, pp. 173-74.

2 In *BSOS*, iv, 1926, p. 279.

3 P. V. Kane (*HSP* p. 130) agrees with this view.

in the comm. are given mistakenly as Kārikā-verses); (3) ed. N. D. Banhatti, with the comm. of Pratīhārendūrāja, Bombay Skt. Series, Poona 1925. Our references are to Telang's edition, unless otherwise indicated.

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Mukula

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Pratīhārendurāja

Edition. With the text of Udbhaṭa as described above.

Rājānaka Tilaka

See above under Commentaries.

VĀMANA

(1)

The upper limit to Vāmana's date is given by his own quotations (IV. 3. 6 and i. 2. 12) from the *Uttara-rāma-carita* (i.38) and *Mahāvīra-carita* (i.54) of Bhavabhūti, who is known to have flourished under the patronage of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, in the first quarter of the 8th century[1]. The lower

1 *Rāja-taraṅg°* iv. 144; Bhandarkar, pref. to *Mālatī-mādhava* pp. xiiif; *JBRAS* xxiii, p 92f; S. P. Pandit in pref. to *Gauḍavaho* p. lxviif; *WZKM* ii 332f. Reference is made in an argument on an illustrative passage in the Vṛtti on iii. 2. 2 to Subandhu (*v. l.* Vasubandhu) a minister of Candragupta. There has been a good deal of controversy over the identity of the king (*bhūpati*) who is said to have been a patron of Subandhu or Vasubandhu (see *IA* xl, 1911, p. 170f, 312; xli, 1912, p. 1, 15; *IHQ* i, p. 261). V. Raghavan (*IHQ* xix, 1943, pp. 70-72) has shewn that it is unnecessary to suppose that Vāmana refers to Subandhu, the well known author of the prose Kathā *Vāsavadattā*; Vāmana is speaking of a minister named Subandhu of Candragupta Maurya and Bindusāra—whose drama is cited by Abhinavagupta as *Vāsavadattā Nāṭya-dhārā* of Mahākavi

limit is given by Rājaśekhara's quotation (p. 14) from Vāmana i. 2. 1-3, and his reference to the Vāmanīyas, which indicates that by end of the 9th century Vāmana had a respectable number of followers going by his name. We learn also from Abhinavagupta (*Locana*, p. 37)[1] that Vāmana was probably known, in the middle of the 9th century, to Ānandavardhana who, however, never directly cites Vāmana but seems to refer, in a manner not to be mistaken, to the latter's Rīti theory in his Vṛtti on iii. 52. Like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, Vāmana probably lived before the Dhvani-theory, under Ānandavardhana, came into prominence ; and Pratīhārendurāja, who professes a great reverence for Vāmana's views, expressly states (p. 81), while discussing *alaṃkāra-dhvani*, that in such cases Vāmana has employed the term *vakrokti* (iv. 3. 8)[2]. We will not be wrong, therefore, if we fix the lower limit of Vāmana's date at the middle of the 9th century[3].

Subandhu, the term Nāṭya-dhārā signifying that the entire drama was developed by a series of acts within acts.

1 The *Lacana* quotes from Vāmana at pp. 8. 10, 180 : also *Abhinava-bharatī* vol. i, p. 288 (=Vāmana i. 3. 30-31).—Vāmana quotes (iv. 3. 10 *ubhau yadi vyomni*) from Māgha iii. 8 ; also Vāmana v. 2. 9= Magha i. 25. The words *yo bhartṛ-piṇḍasya* cited as ungrammatical in v. 2. 28 occurs in *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* iv 3 ; and the verse *śaracchaśāṅka-gaureṇa* cited in iv. 3. 25, occurs in *Svapna-vāsavadatta* iv. 7.

2 Even supposing with Jacobi that Vāmana was contemporaneous with the ananymous Dhvanikāra, he cannot yet be shown to have been influenced in any way by the opinions of that school. The remarks of Ruyyaka (p. 7) and Jayaratha apparently support the trend of Pratīhārendurāja's opinion, and Jayaratha expressly says, with reference to these old writers, that they were unaware of the views of the Dhvanikāra (*dhvanikāra-mataṃ ebhir na dṛṣṭam*, p. 3), the Dhvanikāra being, in Jayaratha's opinion, the same as Ānandavardhana himself.

3 Cappeller's thesis propounded (in *Vāmana's Stilregeln* pp. iii f ; also pref. to his ed. pp. vii f) that Vāmana should be placed later than 1000 A.D. is disproved entirely by the quotations given above. Cf. Pischel, *op. cit.* pp. 23 f. The mention of Kavirāja need not, as Pischel shows, of itself place Vāmana as late as 1000 A.D.

These considerations make it probable that Vāmana lived between the middle of the 8th and the middle of the 9th century, at about 800 A.D., and justify Bühler's identification, in deference to Kahlaṇa iv. 497 and "the tradition of Kashmirian Pandits", of our Vāmana with the Vāmana who was a minister of Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). This conclusion makes Udbhaṭa and Vāmana contemporaries and rivals ; and the way in which Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra and Jayaratha refer to the two rival schools of Vāmanīyas and Audbhaṭas lends colour to such a supposition.

The Vṛtti (with illustration) on the Sūtras, called *Kavi-priyā*, is composed, as its *maṅgala-śloka* indicates, by Vāmana himself (cf iv. 3. 33). This is confirmed by the fact that later writers ascribe both parts of the work to Vāmana[1]. The illustrations, as he himself informs us, are both *svīya* and *parakīya* (iv. 3. 33). Vāmana's work, after the *sūtra*-style, is divided into five Adhikaraṇas, each of which is divided again into Adhyāyas. The first and fourth Adhikaraṇa have three Adhyāyas, the rest two each, the total number of Adhyāyas being twelve. The subject-matter of the Adhikaraṇas is indicated by their naming: (i) Śārīra (ii) Doṣa-darśana (iii) Guṇa-vivecana (iv) Ālaṃkārika and (v) Prāyogika. The last Adhyāya deals with Śabda-śuddhi or grammatical correctness as an aspect of Prāyogika. The number of Alaṃkāras defined and illustrated is thirty-six.

(2)

It has already been noted that Vāmana, in many respects, attempts to improve upon the system of Daṇḍin. Vāmana does not claim entire originality with regard to the illustrations he cites, and many of them may be traced to well known sources. The Rīti-theory itself, which Vāmana for the first time clearly and systematically enunciates, is probably older that Bhāmaha, who alludes to the classification of the *gauḍī*

1 E g. Pratīhārendurāja (p. 17, 76, 81, 84); *Locana* (p. 37).

and *vaidarbhī*; and Vāmana himself cites from unknown expositors of the past, e.g. in his Vṛtti on I. 2. 11, 12-13 ; 3. 15. 29, 32; II. 1, 18; 2. 19 ; III. 1. 2. 9, 25 ; 2. 15 ; IV. 1, 7. etc., with *atra lokāḥ* or *tathā cāhuḥ*. While Daṇḍin supplies an important link between these unknown authors and Vāmana, we find the theory in its completely self-conscious form in the latter. But it appears to have languished after Ānandavardhana came into the field, in spite of the fact that Vāmana's influence apparently created a school known in later times as the Vāmanīya.

MAṄGALA

To this school probably belonged Maṅgala, who must have been a comparatively early writer, having been cited by Rājaśekhara (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20). Maṅgala, we are told by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 195), agrees with Bharata in his definition of Ojas, and maintains with Vāmana that Daṇḍin is not right in emphasising it in the *gauḍī rīti*, inasmuch as it is common to all the Rītis.[1] This is all we hear about this writer, but it would indicate that in his views he leaned towards the system of Vāmana who was probably his predecessor. A poet Maṅgala is quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*.

(3)

COMMENTATORS ON VĀMANA

The existing commentaries on Vāmana are mostly late, and are therefore hardly acceptable to a critical and historical student. The *Kāma-dhenu* by the South Indian, Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, who was governor under Devarāya II (1423-46 A. D.) of the Vijayanagara dynasty, is a lucid exposition of the text, and its popularity is indicated by its frequent publication in India.

1 Cf. Māṇikyacandra (*Saṃketa*, Mysore ed. p. 292).

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Commentaries. (1) *Kāma-dhenu* by Gopendra (or Govinda) Tippa (or Tirpurahara as he himself renders the name, introd. v. 8) Bhūpāla, about whom see above. He cites, among numerous other authors, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (the commentator on Mammaṭa ?), Ghaṇṭāpatha (apparently of Mallinātha) and Dharmadāsa Sūri's *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* (on ii. 2. 21). He is thus later than the 14th century. He cites a work called *Kavi-gajākuśa*. Ed. with the text in Grantha-pradarśinī 1895 ; in the Benares Sansk. Series and in the Srivani-vilasa Press, etc. Our references are by pages to the Benares Ed. (2) *Sāhitya-sarvasva* by Maheśvara (*IOC* 566 ; *ABod* 207b). See Śrīvatsalāñchana (under Commentators on Mammaṭa below). (3) A Commentary by Sahadeva quoted in the notes to the Gaekwad edition (Baroda) of *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* p. 5.

RUDRAṬA AND RUDRABHAṬṬA

(1)

The lower limit of Rudraṭa's date is furnished by the citation of Rudraṭa by name and reference to his *kāku-vakrokti* figure (ii. 16) by Rājaśekhara (p. 31) at the end of the

9th and beginning of the 10th century. This conclusion is supported by two considerations. Vallabhadeva who, as we shall presently see, flourished in the first half of the 10th century, quotes Rudraṭa by name in his commentary on Māgha (ed. Kashi Sansk. Series 1929, ii. 44) and mentions (on iv. 21) that he himself also composed a commentary on Rudraṭa's treatise on Alaṃkāra, where he had discussed in detail the points in question ; while in the same commentary Hultzsch notes numerous references, mostly anonymous, to Rudraṭa[1]. Again, Pratīhārendurāja, about the same time, quotes anonymously (pp 42, 49) Rudraṭa's Kārikā-verses vii. 35 and xii. 4, as well as cites (p. 43) the illustrative stanza in Rudraṭa vii. 36[2]. Abhinavagupta also quotes anonymously (*Locana*, p. 45) a Kārikā-verse of Rudraṭa's (vii. 38). This sets aside altogether the conjectural date, viz. the second half of the 11th century, assigned by Bühler[3], as well as his revised date[4], viz. the middle of the 10th century, which Peterson[5] first put forward.

The upper limit cannot be so definitely settled ; but it seems probable that Rudraṭa was younger than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, with regard to whose date his own time is to be settled. We need not go so far as to hold with Jacobi[6] that Rudraṭa derived his idea of *vakrokti* from Ratnākara's well known poem *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā*, and therefore was

1 See Hultzsch's pref. to his edition of *Megha-dūta* with Vallabha's comm., London 1911, p. x-xi. These references are not all found in the printed text. This Vallabhadeva must be distinguished from the compiler of the *Subhāṣ°* who bears the same name.

2 Cf Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, p. 764. Other quotations by Pratīhārendurāja are: p. 11=R viii. 40 ; p. 31=R viii. 89 ; p. 34=R viii. 95. Also Dhanika on iv. 35=R xii. 4.

3 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

4 *IA* xii. 30.

5 Peterson. i (*Detailed Report* 1883) p. 14 ; also introd. to *Subhāṣ°* p. 105. Their arguments are based on the date of Nami-sādhu's commentary on Rudraṭa, which is now known to be dated in 1069 A.D. See below on Nami-sādhu.

6 *WZKM* ii. 151 f.

later than Ratnākara, son of Amṛtabhānu, who lived under Bṛhaspati and Avantivarman of Kashmir ; but it is clear that if this new idea of *vakrokti* did not originate with Ratnākara or even with Rudraṭa, it was defined for the first time by the latter and illustrated by the former as a particular poetic figure. This verbal figure is described as resting on *śleṣa* (paronomasia) or *kāku* (intonation) and is based on a deliberate misunderstanding of one's words for the purpose of making a clever retort (Rudraṭa ii. 14-17). Bhāmaha (ii. 85), on the other hand, had taken *vakrokti*, not as a particular poetic figure, but as a certain strikingness of expression which characterises all poetic figures ; while Daṇḍin had limited the range of *vakrokti* and made it a collective name for all poetic figures with the exception of *svabhāvokti* (ii. 362 and comm. thereon). Vāmana was the first to regard *vakrokti* as a special poetic figure (*arthālaṃkāra*), but he too used the expression in a more or less general sense to denote a particular mode of metaphorical expression based on *lakṣaṇā* or transferred sense (iv. 3. 8)[1]. From this it appears that (1) the term *vakrokti* travelled through all these writings from a very broad sense as the distinguishing characteristic of all poetic figures to the precise and narrow signification of a specific verbal poetic figure in Rudraṭa's definition ; a definition which, however, unquestionably established itself in all later writers (except in Kuntaka who developed his idea directly from Bhāmaha); (2) the order of development points apparently to the conclusion that Rudraṭa was probably later than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana ; for in his time the broader and older connotation of *vakrokti* was out of date, and it came to be looked upon as a defined species of *śabdālaṃkāra* ; and (3) its illustration by Ratnākara indicates its existence, independently of Rudraṭa, in the 9th century A. D. These indications make it probable, apart from a detailed examination of Rudraṭa's other theories in relation to those of

1 Cf. Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxiv, p. 130f.

Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, that the substance of Rudraṭa's teaching was probably later than that of these older writers. If this conclusion is accepted, then Rudraṭa should be placed after Vāmana, who is the latest member of this group ; and this gives us the upper limit to his date.

It seems probable, that Rudraṭa should be placed between the first quarter of the 9th century and its end ; for he appears to be unknown to Ānandavardhana. It will not be wrong if we accept the most plausible date assigned to him by Pischel[1], viz. the middle of the 9th century[2]. The date makes him a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, who never cites or refers to Rudraṭa, as he does to other well-known predecessors, and by whom this peculiar *ālaṃkārika* connotation of *vakrokti*, if known, was not apparently recognised.

Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* consists of 16 Adhyāyas and 734 Kārikās in Āryā metre (excepting the concluding verses) and comprehends almost all the topics of Poetics. This enumeration excludes 14 Kārikās after xii. 40 (dealing with eight kinds of Nāyikā) which are declared to be interpolated passages.[3]

(2)

What is said here about Rudraṭa does not apply to Rudra or Rudrabhaṭṭa, although Pischel[4], Weber[5], Aufrecht[6] and

1 Pref. to *Śṛng. til.* pp. 12, 26.

2 The suggestion of Jacobi that Rudraṭa, whose name implies that he was a Kashmirian, was a contemporary of Śaṃkaravarman of Kashmir, successor of Avantivarman, does not make any essential difference to our conclusion, although it is not certain that the example of *vakrokti* given by Rudraṭa in ii. 15 was at all prompted by Ratnākara, whose work contains similar railleries between Śiva and Gaurī.

3 For summary of topics in Rudraṭa's work set vol. ii, ch. ii (3) below.

4 Pref. to *Śṛng. til.; ZDMG* xlii, 1888, pp. 296-304, 425.

5 *Ind. Stud.* xvi.

6 *ZDMG* xxvii pp. 80-1, xxxvi p. 376; *Cat. Bod.* 209b ; *Cat. Cat.* pp. 528b, 530a.

Bühler[1] take the two authors to be identical. The identity is declared doubtful by Peterson[2] and is not admitted by Durgaprasada[3] and Trivedi[4]. Finally, Jacobi has set at rest this controversy by showing elaborately, from an examination of their respective texts, that these two writers were in all probability different persons[5].

From v. 12-14 of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* of Rudraṭa, as interpreted by Nami-sādhu, it appears that Rudraṭa, also called Śatānanda, was son of Bhaṭṭa Vāmukha and a follower of the Sāma-veda. Rudrabhaṭṭa's genealogy or personal history is unknown. But much has been made of the apparent similarity of the two names. The last verse[6] of the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, however, expressly gives the name of its author as Rudra, with which description most of the MSS agree[7]; while both Nami-sādhu and Vallabha call the author of the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* by the name of Rudraṭa. The two authors belong, again, apparently to two different religious persuasions, Rudra being a worshipper of Śiva, and Rudraṭa omitting a reference to this deity and mentioning instead Bhavānī and Murāri (besides the usual Gaṇeśa).

1 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

2 *Rep.* i, p. 14; pref. to *Subhāṣ°* pp. 104-5; but *contra* in *Report* ii, p. 19 footnote.

3 Footnote to the ed. of *Sṛṅg. til.* p. 1.

4 Notes to his ed. of *Ekāvalī* p. 3.

5 *WZKM* ii, 1888, pp. 151-56; *ZDMG* xlii pp. 425 f.

6 The last verse, however, is not found in some MSS.

7 With the curious exception of a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā characters (Bühler's *Kashmir Rep.* no. 264) where the name in given as Rudraṭa. This unique testimony raises a legitimate suspicion, but it can be explained as a piece of not unnatural confusion made by a Kashmirian scribe, to whom the more famous name of Rudraṭa must have been more familiar. The same remark applies to the India office MS no. 1131 (*Cat.* vii, p. 321) and the South Indian MS in *Madras Cat.* xxii (1918) no. 12955, in which, however, the last verse gives the name as Rudra. This evidence, however, of colophons of MSS is not decisive; and it is well known that even later anthologies and writers of note make a similar confusion between the two authors.

Taking the works themselves, Rudraṭa's text of sixteen chapters covers a much larger ground than Rudra's much shorter work of three chapters, and presents a distinctly different outlook. Rudraṭa puts a greater emphasis on the *kāvyālaṃkāras* or poetic figures which supply, as Nami-sādhu points out, the name of the work itself, and which absorb its eleven chapters, leaving only five concluding chapters for a brief supplementary treatment of Rasa, the cognate topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā* and the general problems of poetry. The keystone of Rudra's system, on the other hand, is the idea of Rasa, having special reference to *śṛṅgāra* (ch. i. and ii) with just a summary description of the other Rasas (ch. iii) ; and the chief value of his smaller text consists in his minute poetical treatment of the theme of *śṛṅgāra-rasa* and *nāyaka-nāyikā*. It will appear, therefore, that while Rudraṭa's scope and method are more ambitiously theoretical and comprehensive, Rudrabhaṭṭa merely singles out a part of the whole subject, and not troubling himself about definitions and rules (which appear almost word for word as they are in Rudraṭa) gives us, in his apt and finely composed illustrative verses, a practical poetical manual on the subject of love and other sentiments. Jacobi, therefore, rightly remarks that "Rudraṭa appears as an original teacher of poetics, while Rudra, at his best an original poet, follows, as an expounder of his *śāstra*, the common herd."

With regard to the common topics, there is however, a general agreement, even to minute details, which has misled some scholars to attribute the two works to the same author. But beneath this general agreement, the two works reveal many points of difference which affect some of the fundamental conceptions of their respective authors. Taking, for instance, their treatment of Rasa, we find that while Rudra (i. 9) follows the general tradition, prevailing from Udbhaṭa's time, of mentioning nine Rasas, Rudraṭa adds one more, viz. *preyas* (xii. 3), treating them in an order somewhat different from that followed by Rudra. Rudra enumerates and dis-

cusses at some length the *bhāvas* (i. 10-19), which are summarily referred to by Rudraṭa in one verse only (xii. 4). A similar difference will be noted in the treatment of Vṛttis, of which Rudra (i. 12) mentions, after Bharata (xx. 24f), the usual four (viz. *kaiśikī*, *ārabhaṭī*, *sāttvatī* and *bhāratī*), originally taken as styles of dramatic composition but borrowed here apparently with a similar purpose from dramaturgy to poetry (cf Bharata *loc. cit.* 21). Rudraṭa, on the other hand, speaks (ii. 19f), after Udbhaṭa,[1] of five *vṛttis* (viz. *madhurā*, *prauḍhā*, *paruṣā*, *lalitā* and *bhadrā*), which have nothing to do with the above four, but being comprised under alliteration (*anuprāsa*) refer primarily to suitable sound-adjustment by special arrangement of letters. With regard to the cognate topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā*, similar material discrepancies can be detected. While Rudra describes at some length the eight conventional *avasthās* (conditions or situations) of the *nāyikā* (i. 131-32), Rudraṭa mentions only four (viz., *abhisārikā*, *khaṇḍitā*, *svādhīna-patikā* and *proṣita-patikā*, xii. 41f), although to make up for this unwonted divergence there is in some MSS a long passage (between xii. 40 and 41), describing the usual eight conditions but irreconcilable to its context, and rightly stigmatised by Rudraṭa's editor as interpolated. The third class of heroine, again, viz., the courtezan (*veśyā*), appears to be favoured by Rudra (i. 120-30), while Rudraṭa dismisses her in two verses only (xii. 39-40) with an apparent note of condemnation. The tenfold state of a lover, beginning with desire and ending in death, is mentioned in passing by Rudraṭa (xiv. 4-5), but Rudra defines and illustrates each of these states in detail (ii. 6-30). While the trespasses in love, according to Rudra (ii. 53), depend on time (*kāla*), place (*deśa*) and circumstances (*prasaṅga*), Rudraṭa thinks (xiv. 18) that a fourth condition, viz. the person concerned (*pātra*) should be added.

1 Udbhaṭa mentions only three *vṛttis* in connexion with *anuprāsa*, viz. *paruṣā*, *upanāgarikā* and *grāmyā* (i. 4-7).

All these indications make it highly probable that Rudraṭa and Rudra were two different persons ; but if this is so, how are we to explain the fact most of the verses in the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* are, but for their difference in metre (*anuṣṭubh* and *āryā* respectively) identical almost word for word with the corresponding verses in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra*? This point has been emphasised with some plausibility by the advocates of the identity of the two writers. But it should be noticed that this extraordinary verbal coincidence does not extend beyond those verses which give the rules and definitions ; for the illustrative stanzas in the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, composed in a variety of metres, and forming a distinctive feature of this more poetical work, do not occur in the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* at all. It is not unusual to find similar treatment and terminology in technical treatises, abounding in standardised and conventional rules and definitions ; but this is not enough to explain this extraordinary plagiarism tempered, it is true, by the presence of highly poetical and presumably original[1] stanzas composed to illustrate these dry rules and definitions. Nor is this explanation, which is based on the supposed identity of the two writers, at all free from considerable doubt in view of the discrepancies noted above. The real explanation probably lies in the supposition that Rudra, apparently a later writer and chiefly a poet, and never pretending to be an original teacher of Poetics, found in these ready-made rules of Rudraṭa enough poetic possibilities, as well as an opportunity of displaying his own poetic powers, and proceeded forthwith to furnish the missing poetic illustrations.[2] As he did not apparently aspire to write an original

1 Some illustrative stanzas in the *Śṛṅg. til.* are taken from earlier works like the *Amaru-śataka*.

2 These chapters in Rudraṭa are purely expository, and are not fully illustrated as the preceding chapters are. One may be led to suppose that Rudraṭa himself composed the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* to supply this deficiency, but this hypothesis does not sufficiently explain the divergence of views on the points noted above, which apparently indicates that the task of supplementing could not have been under-

thesis on the topics concerned, he did not trouble to alter the wording of the fixed canons and made only enough changes to suit the metre. While Rudraṭa is concerned directly with rules and prescriptions, Rudra is more practical in his object and treatment and intends his treatise on love apparently to serve as a psychologico-poetical guide to the gay science, furnishing it, as he does, with an elaborate analysis of the various moods and sentiments, which belong to the province of Erotics as well as Poetics[1].

taken by himself but by some other author, who held some views different from his own. It cannot be argued that chapters xii-xvi in question, which contain this deficiency, is a later addition by some other hand, on the ground that the closing verse of ch. xi reads like the end of the work itself; for a similar remark applies to the closing verses of chapters iii, iv and v.

1 The quotations from these two writers in later literature are unfortunately mostly anonymous, and do not materially help us in deciding this question. Among the very few cases where the author's name is cited along with his verses, Mammaṭa, himself a Kashmirian, correctly refers (*ad* ix. 8a) the verse *sphuṭam arthālaṃkāram* to Rudraṭa (iv. 32). Samudrabandha (p. 6) and Hemacandra (p. 286 Comm.) refer rightly to Rudraṭa vii. 38-40 and vii. 27 respectively. Ruyyaka, while discussing Rudraṭa's views does not refer to his treatment of the Rasas at all. On the other hand, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (p. 35) cites *vāmatā durlabhatvam* from *Śṛṅgāra-til.* (ii. 41), and correctly refers to the author as Rudra. Vallabhadeva in his anthology cites a number of verses from the *Kāvyālaṃkāra* (421=ii. 17; 730=iii. 57; 1387=vi. 10; 1667=ii. 30; 2047=vii. 71; 2061=vii. 33; 2234=vii. 41; 2409=vii. 32), and with two exceptions, gives the name of the author correctly as Rudraṭa. Similarly, Śārṅgadhara quotes eight verses from the *Śṛṅgāra-til.* (3409=i. 95; 3567=i. 35; 3568=i. 81; 3679=ii. 107; 3578=ii. 12; 3579=ii. 50; 3675=i. 51; 3754=i. 30), and with two exceptions, again, refers them correctly to Rudra. The two exceptions of Śārṅgadhara (viz. 3773 and 3788) are wrongly attributed to Rudra; but Vallabhadeva quotes the very same verses (2234 and 1667), and correcting the mistake refers them rightly to Rudraṭa. Vallabhadeva's two exceptions (2247 and 3122) cannot be found in Rudraṭa to whom they are attributed, nor in Rudra. Jahlaṇa attributes 21 verses to Rudra, of which 5 cannot be traced in his work. Of these, *kiṃ gauri mām* occurs in Rudraṭa ii. 16; *ambā śete'tra* occurs

(3)

Rudrabhaṭṭa's date is uncertain; but as Hemacandra (p. 110) is the oldest writer to quote anonymously and criticise his *maṅgala*-verse (i. 1), we should place him between Rudraṭa and Hemacandra, i.e. later than the 9th century but earlier, probably not much earlier, than the 12th. One verse, however, of Rudra, which cannot be traced in his *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, is quoted by Dhanika (iv. 60, ed. NSP 1917. p. 103); and if this Rudra is the same as our author, he should be placed before the end of the 10th century.[1]

(4)

COMMENTATORS ON RUDRAṬA

Vallabhadeva

Vallabhadeva's commentary on *Rudraṭālaṃkāra*, referred to by himself in his commentary on Māgha (on iv. 21, vi. 28) is the earliest known commentary on Rudraṭa and is still to be recovered. Vallabhadeva, who bore the surname of Paramāratha-cihna and who describes himself as son of Rājānaka Ānandadeva[2], is a well-known commentator on several standard poetical works, including those of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Mayūra and Ratnākara. He was apparently a Kashmirian and probably belonged to the first half of the 10th century; for his grandson Kayyaṭa, son of Candrāditya, wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka*[3] in

in *Kavi. vacana- samac.*; 505 = *Subhāṣ°* 2247 (attributed to Rudraṭa) = *Sadukti-karṇā°* ii. 73 (attributed to Bhaṭṭa); *ekākinī yad abalā* is attributed wrongly to Rudra (as in the *Paddhati* 3773) but correctly assigned by Vallabhadeva to Rudraṭa. Hemacandra quotes anonymously three verses from Rudra (i. 1=p. 110; i. 44=p. 304; i. 68=p. 305).

1 Dhanika also quotes anonymously from Rudraṭa (xii. 4) in his comm. on iv. 35, ed. N.S.P. Cf. Rudrabhaṭṭa i. 16.

2 From the closing verse of the comm. on *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* Ānandadeva seems to have held some high appointment in Kashmir (colophon in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka i, p. 114: Mitra x, no. 4064).

3 See footnote to the ed. of *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* in Kāvyamālā,

977-78 A. D., during the reign of Bhīmagupta of Kashmir (977-82 A. D.). Vallabha's preceptor was Prakāśavarṣa who, Hultzsch thinks, is perhaps identical with the poet Prakāśavarṣa, who is quoted in *Subhāṣitāvalī* and *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* and who wrote a commentary on Bhāravi (Aufrecht i. 347). Our author must be distinguished from Vallabhadeva, the compiler of the anthology *Subhāṣitāvalī*, who is assigned by Aufrecht to the 16th century[1]. From Hultzsch's list of Vallabha's quotations in his commentary on Māgha it is interesting to note that he cites Medhāvirudra, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Bhaṭṭi and the *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā* (apparently the Prakrit poem of Ānandavardhana).

Nami-sādhu

After Vallabhadeva, comes Nami (known as Nami-sādhu or Nami-paṇḍita), who is described as a Śveta-bhikṣu, indicating that he was a Śvetāmbara Jaina. He describes himself as "the bee that sucked honey from the lotus-feet of Śrī-śālibhadra Sūri, the ornament of the *gaccha* of the city of Thārāpadra". We know that Jinabhadra Sūri, who was a pupil of Śālibhadra, wrote in Saṃvat 1204=1148 A. D.[2] Śālibhadra is also referred to as Śrī-śāli-sūri in another work of Nami's called *Ṣaḍāvaśyaka-ṭīkā*, of which the date is given in the work itself as Saṃvat 1122=1065 A. D.[3] In one of the concluding verses of his commentary on Rudraṭa, Nami states that his commentary was composed in Saṃvat 1125=1069 A. D.[4] Among writers on Poetics

Gucchaka i, pp. 101-2: and to ed. of the *Devī-śataka* in *ibid*, Gucchaka ix. p. 1. Cf. Hultzsch's pref. to *Megha-dūta* p. ix.

1 Bühler (*Kunst Poesie* p. 71) thinks that anthologist Vallabhadeva flourished between 1400 and 1350 A.D. The date now requires revision, for this anthology is quoted directly (with the names of the work and author) by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda in 1160 A.D. in his commentary on the *Amara-kośa*. See on this question S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 471-91 and *BSOS*, v, pt. i, p. 27f; v, pt. iii, p. 499f.

2 Peterson i p. 68.

3 Peterson iii p. 13.

4 *pañca-viṃśati-saṃyuktair ekādaśa-samāśataiḥ / vikramāt sama-*

cited by Nami on Rudraṭa, we find the names of Bharata (p. 150, 156, 164), Medhāvirudra (pp. 2, 9, 145), Bhāmaha (p. 2, 116), Daṇḍin (pp. 2, 5, 169), Vāmana (pp. 11, 100, 116), Udbhaṭa (pp. 69, 82, 150) and the *Arjuna-carita* by Ānandavardhana. He also cites *Tilaka-mañjarī* (on xvi. 3) apparently of Dhanapāla, and one Jayadeva on prosody (on i. 18, 20).[1] It is interesting to note that Nami quotes a Prakrit verse from one Hari (ii. 10), presumably a writer on Poetics, which mentions eight Vṛttis instead of five of Rudraṭa.

Āśādhara

Peterson (ii, p. 85) brought to our notice another Jaina commentator on Rudraṭa, called Āśādhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa and Ratni. He was a Jaina teacher who lived till Saṃvat 1296= 1240 A.D. He should be distinguished from Āśādhara, son of Rāmajī Bhaṭṭa, a very late writer who composed a commentary on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*[2]. In the Praśasti at the end of his *Dharmāmṛta*, Āśādhara's personal history is given. He belonged to the Vyāghreravāla family and was son of Sallakṣaṇa (or Lakṣaṇa) and Ratni. He was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara situated in the country round the Śākaṃbharī (Sambhar) Lake. He had by his wife Sarasvatī a son named Chāhaḍa, who was a favourite of Arjunavarman of

tikrāntaiḥ prāvṛṣīdaṃ samarthitam. The reading *pañca-viṃśati°* in this verse is doubted on the authority of Kielhorn's palm-leaf MS (*Report*, 1880-81, p. 63) which reads instead *ṣaṭ-saptati°*. This new reading will place Nami much later; but it is not supported by other MSS (e.g. Mitra 3102; Stein 61; Peterson i p. 16), as well as by the evidences adduced above from other sources. Kielhorn's reading is obviously incorrect in itself, because it makes the verse deficient in metre.

1 For this author see H. D. Velankar, *Jayadāman*, Bombay 1949. This Jayadeva and his *Chandaḥ-śāstra* are also cited by Abhinavagupta in his comm. on Bharata. For his date (before 950 A.D.) see P. K. Gode in *Poona Orientalist*, pp. 33-38 (reprinted in his *Studies in Indian Lit. Hist.* i, pp. 138-43).

2 The two are confused by Aufrecht i. 54b and, following him by Harichand Sastri p. 18; but Aufrecht expresses doubt about their identity.

Mālava (first quarter of the 13th century). After the invasion of Sāhibadīna, king of the Turuṣkas (apparently Shāhābu-d-din Ghūr, Sultan of Delhi, who vanquished Pṛthurāja in 1193 A.D.), Āśādhara emigrated to Mālava and lived in Dhārā, where he learned the doctrines of Jaina faith and Jinendra-vyākaraṇa from Paṇḍita Mahāvīra, pupil of Dharasena. Āśādhara was reputed for his learning, being praised by the sage Udayasena, by the poet Vihlaṇa (*sic*) who is *not* the Kashmirian poet Bihlaṇa who lived about 1070-90 A.D., but minister of Vijayavarman king of the Vindhyas, and by the great *yati* Madanakīrti. He wrote more than 15 works, of which he gives a list, referring also to his commentary on Rudraṭa[1]. His *Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti-śāstra*, which gives stories of 63 great men mentioned in the Jaina Purāṇas, was composed in 1236 A.D.[2]

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Nami-sādhu

Edition. Kāvyamālā 2, 1886, 1909, with the text (see above).

Āśādhara

Mss. Aufrecht i 103a, 779a.

No MS of Vallabhadeva's commentary on Rudraṭa is known.

Rudrabhaṭṭa

Editions. *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (1) by Pischel with an introd. Kiel 1886 (2) Kāvyamālā Gucchaka iii 1887, 1899. Our references are to Pischel's edition.

1 Peterson ii p. 85 and fn; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 103-4.

2 Aufrecht i 54b. Winternitz (*Geschichte*, ii, p. 354, fn 5) assigns 1228-1244 A.D. as the date of Āśādhara's literary activity. See also Kielhorn in *EI.* ix. 1908, p. 107f.

Commentary. *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa. See under Commentators on Mammaṭa and Bhānudatta, below. Mentioned in Kāvyamālā ed. of the text (p. 111). He calls his author Rudra. If the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, cited by Kumārasvāmin, be the same person, then he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century. As Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, appears to be a South Indian writer, this conjecture is probable. Oppert's entry of *Vana-taraṅgiṇī* (ii 2711, 1787) on Rudraṭa is apparently a mistake for this work, and the name Rudraṭa is a confusion for Rudra.

THE WRITER ON ALAṂKĀRA IN THE VIṢṆU-DHARMOTTARA AND AGNI-PURĀṆA

The Viṣṇu-dharmottara

The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*[1], counted as an Upapurāṇa, is one of the later Purāṇic works of an encyclopaedic character which, in the course of its rapid treatment of multifarious subjects, devotes a few chapters to the topics of dancing (Nṛtta), singing (Gīta) and music (Ātodya), Poetics (Alaṃkāra), Dramaturgy (Nāṭya) and allied subjects. The work consists of three Kāṇḍas of more than eight hundred chapters, the distribution and number of chapters in each Kāṇḍa being as follows: i—ch. 269; ii—ch. 183; iii—ch. 355. We are concerned here only with a few chapters of Kaṇḍa iii, which begins with what is called Citra-sūtra or the art of painting and proceeds to the allied topics of dancing, singing and music. Ch. 14-15 of this Kāṇḍa is devoted generally to some topics of Poetics. They name and define 17 kinds of poetic figures (*alaṃkāras*), which are: Anuprāsa, Yamaka (two types Saṃdaṣṭa and Samudga distinguished), Rūpaka, Vyatireka, Śleṣa, Utprekṣā, Arthāntara-nyāsa, Upanyāsa (probably a kind of Vyājokti), Vibhāvanā, Atiśayokti, Svabhāvokti (or according to some MSS Vārta), Yathā-saṃkh-

1 For a detailed account of the content of this huge compilation, chapter by chapter, see R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, i, Calcutta 1958, pp. 147-218.

ya, Viśeṣokti, Virodha, Nindā-stuti, Nidarśana and Ananvaya. In this list may be included Upamā which, however, is not explicitly mentioned or defined. In some of these verses reference is made to older authorities (*purātana* or *purāṇa*). Ch. 15 speaks of Kāvya and distinguishes it from Śāstra and Itihāsa. The Mahākāvya is then defined and characterised ; it should contain nine Rasas, namely, Śṛṅgāra, Hāsya, Karuṇa, Raudra, Vīra, Bhayānaka, Bībhasta, Adbhuta and Śānta; there should be description of towns, countries etc ; it should have a Nāyaka and Pratināyaka, but it should not describe death of the Nāyaka. Ch. 16 names, defines and classifies Prahelikās. Ch. 17-31, based mostly on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, deal generally with dramaturgy. The Rūpakas are classified into 12 varieties, namely, Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇa, Prakaraṇī, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka, Bhāṇa, Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga, Vyāyoga, Vīthi, Ḍima and Prahasana. Eight types of Nāyikās are distinguished, namely, Vāsaka-sajjā, Virahotkaṇṭhitā, Svādhīna-bhartṛkā, Kalahānta-ritā, Khaṇḍitā, Vipralabdhā, Proṣita-bhartṛkā and Abhisārikā. Ch. 18-19 deal with the different kinds of vocal (Gīta) and instrumental (Ātodya) music, appropriate to the nine Rasas. Ch. 20-29 define Nāṭya, classify Nṛtta, deal generally with the construction of the stage and its attendant religious rites and describe the four modes of Abhinaya, namely, Āṅgika, Sāttvika, Vācika and Āhārya. Ch. 30 deals in 28 verses with the nine Rasas (including Śānta) and their mode of delineation. Ch. 31 describes 49 Bhāvas, including Nirveda.

This brief résumé will give a rough idea of the topics included in the 28 chapters of the Upapurāṇa on Alaṃkāra, Nāṭya and allied subjects. But the section is essentially a rapid compilation and presents no definite system. The date of the Upapurāṇa, however, must be early. It is later certainly than Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* which is used as a source, but it is earlier probably than Bhaṭṭi and the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, who enumerate a much larger number of poetic figures. Its internal evidence as a whole indicates that it cannot be

earlier than 400 A. D. and later than 500 A. D. It was composed either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Panjab; but its date is too early for any reference, direct or indirect, to the Kashmirian Dhvani school.[1]

The Agni-purāṇa

The writer on Alaṃkāra in the *Agni-purāṇa* (chs. 336-346) attempts to treat the subject of Poetics in what may be described roughly as an eclectic fashion, but the account is much fuller and more systematic. It appears to follow at the same time a tradition which is distinct from and probably older than that of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana, although the work itself may not have been old. The date of this apocryphal work, which is counted as one of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas is uncertain;[2] but there is enough evidence to show that the Alaṃkāra-section in it is chiefly a compilation by a writer, who was himself no great theorist but who wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular system, yet gathering its material from all sources. This is apparent not only from its independent, if somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and probably other old unknown writers.[3] Bharata is cited by name in *Agni* 339. 6, and a large part of its treatment of *nāṭya, nṛtya, abhinaya* and *rasa* follows Bharata's exposition, even to the literal

1 On the question of the date and provenance of the Upapurāṇa see R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.* pp. 205-12.

2 The present *Agni-purāṇa* is said (*IHQ*, xii, pp. 683-89) to be a recast of an earlier and original *Agni-p.* which is the text described by the *Matsya-p.* and *Skanda-p.* and quoted by some Dharma-śāstra writers.

3 Thus, the verse *abhidheyena saṃbandhāt* (*Agni* 344. 11-12). which is also cited anonymously by Mammaṭa (*Śabda-vyāpā°* p. 8) and in the *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana iv. 3. 8, is attributed to one Bhartṛmitra by Mukula (p. 17). The verse is not traceable in Bhartṛhari. Bhartṛmitra is cited also by Someśvara in his comm. on Mammaṭa (p. 16).

borrowing and paraphrase of some of his well known verses. Thus, *Agni* 337. 11-12=Bharata xxii. 28-29 ; *Agni* 338. 12= Bharata vi. 36 ; *Agni* 338. 7-8=Bharata vi. 39 ; *Agni* 342. 15-17=Bharata xvii. 62-65. The definition of poetry (*Agni* 336. 6) and of poetic figure (*Agni* 341. 17) are copied literally from Daṇḍin i. 10 and ii. 1 respectively. Cf also *Agni* 336. 13=Daṇḍin i. 29=Bhāmaha i 27 ; *Agni* 336. 23, 25,26= Daṇḍin i. 12, 15, 17=Bhāmaha i. 20. This will be enough to indicate not only the general nature of the work, but also the probability that these chapters of the Purāṇa were compiled later than Daṇḍin.[1] Two verses again (*apāre kāvya-saṃsāre* and *śṛṅgārī cet kaviḥ*) occur in *Agni* 338. 10-11 and in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana (p. 222), who flourished in the middle of the 9th century.[2] As the authorship of one of these verses (*śṛṅgārī cet kaviḥ*) is ascribed expressly by Abhinavagupta to Ānandavardhana himself (*Abh. Bh.* ed. GOS, i, p. 295) we can assume that the *Agni* borrowed this verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*. We cannot draw any definite inference from the *Agni-purāṇa*'s omissson of a direct reference to Vāmana's teachings, but the definition of the term *vakrokti* bears some resemblance (341. 33) to Rudraṭa's novel characterisation of the same figure (ii. 14-16).[3] On the other hand, this section of the *Agni-purāṇa* (like the Alaṃkāra section of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* is not cited as an authority in the sphere of Poetics (if we except Bhoja's anonymous appropria-

1 Some of the definitions of poetic figures given by the *Agni* (E.g. Rūpaka, Utprekṣā, Viśeṣokti, Vibhāvanā, Ākṣepa, Aprastuta-praśaṃsā, Samāsokti and Paryāyokta) occur in almost identical language in Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha.

2 As the tradition of opinion embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa* appears to have been followed and further developed by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-k°*, its date is presumably earlier than the 11th century. It is not suggested that Bhoja built up his elaborate system on the confused verses of the *Agni*, but the tradition of opinion is not essentially different. On a post-Bhoja date see *IHQ* x, pp. 767-79.

3 This point need not be emphasised ; for this idea of *vakrokti* was prevalent, as Ratnākara's poem shows, in the 9th century.

tions) until we come to the time of Viśvanātha (14th century) who quotes *Agni* 336. 3-4 (=i. 2) and 337. 7. Whatever may be the date of the *Purāṇa* as a whole, which is a kind of an ambitious cyclopaedia, incorporating sections on various departments of knowledge, we may, from what has been said, be justified in assigning the Alaṃkāra-section to a period later than the middle of the 9th century.[1] The concept of *dhvani* is casually included in the figure *ākṣepa*,[2] after the manner of most old authors, who flourished before that theory came into prominence.[3]

With regard to the content of the Alaṃkāra-section, the arrangement of chapters and topics are as follows. Ch. 336 defines and classifies Kāvya. Ch. 337 deals with the topics of Dramaturgy (12 kinds of Rūpaka and Uparūpaka, 5 Artha-prakṛtis and 5 Saṃdhis). Ch. 338 considers the Rasas (with Sthāyi-bhāva, Vibhāva and Anubhāva), the types of Nāyaka-Nāyikā and their qualities. Ch. 339 speaks of four Rītis (Pāñcālī, Gauḍī, Vaidarbhī and Laṭī) and four Vṛttis (Bhāratī, Sāttvati, Kaśikī and Ārabhaṭī). Ch. 340 is devoted to dancing. Ch. 341 is concerned with four kinds of Abhinaya (Sāttvika, Vācika, Āṅgika and Āhārya). Ch. 342 defines and classifies Śabdālaṃkāras, including seven varieties of Citra and sixteen kinds of Prahelikā. Ch. 343 deals with Arthālaṃkāras ; Ch. 344 with what are called Śabdārthālaṃkāras (but it

1 P. V. Kane (*Hist. of Dharma-śāstra* i, pp. 170-73) gives *c.* 900 A.D. as the date of the Smṛti-chapters ; to the Alaṃkāra-section he assigns the same date. Also see *IHQ* xii. p. 689-90.

2 The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse of this section (336. 1 ; cf Bhoja i. I) ; but apparently it alludes to the grammatical word, which reveals the *sphoṭa* and which is indicated by the same term in the *Vākyapadīya*. Bhoja, makes the same omission ; but of course he was more fully aware of the views of Ānandavardhana and his followers. The Purāṇa was probably aware of the Dhvani-theory as propounded by Ānandavardhana (one of whose verses is appropriated), but it did not apparently subscribe to it

3 Cf Ruyyaka pp. 3f.

includes Ākṣepa, Samāsokti and Paryāyokta). Ch. 345-46 are devoted to Guṇas and Doṣas.

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CHAPTER IV

THE DHVANIKĀRA AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA

(1)

Ānandavardhana has been assigned by Bühler and Jacobi to the middle of the ninth century, on the strength of *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* v. 34, which makes him one of the ornaments of the court of Avantivarman (855-84 A. D.) We are pretty certain of the time of Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana's commentator ; for, as he himself states, his *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* on the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* was written in 1015 A. D., while his *Krama-stotra* was composed in 990-991 A.D. and his *Bhairava-stotra* or *Īśvara-stotra* in 992-93. From Abhinavagupta's remarks at the end of his °*Locana* commentary on Uddyotas i and iii of the *Dhvanyāloka*, it appears that the study of this famous work was traditional in his family, and that his own commentary was composed as a rejoinder to another, called the *Candrikā* (p. 60), written by one of his predecessors in the same *gotra*[1]; and four times in his °*Locana* (pp. 123, 174, 185, 215) he discusses or controverts the views of this earlier commentator, who is specifically referred to as the Candrikā-kāra at pp. 178 and 185.[2] This should certainly allow some generations to lie between Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, and negative completely Pischel's contention that in three passages Abhinavagupta speaks of Ānandavardhana as one of his teachers. These passages occur at pp. 37, 183, and 214 of the printed text, but a perusal of them with re-

1 *candrikā-kārais tu paṭhitam......ity alaṃ pūrva-vaṃśyaiḥ saha vivādena babhunā*, p. 185 : *ity alaṃ nija-pūrvaja-sagotraiḥ sākaṃ vivādena*, p. 123, etc.—The Candrikā-kāra is also cited by Someśvara (p. 55) in his comm. on Mammaṭa.

2 This *Candrikā* is also referred to in a punning verse at the beginning of Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka* (i. 5): *dhvani-vartmany ati-gahane skhalitaṃ vāṇyāḥ pade pade sulabham/rabhasena yat pravṛttā prakāśakaṃ candrikādy adṛṣṭaiva*, on which the commentator remarks: *candrikā jyotsnā dhvani-vicāraṇa-grantho'pi* (p. 1).

ference to their context will show that the honorific word *guru*, if it at all refers to Ānandavardhana, must refer to him, not literally but figuratively, as *paramparā-guru*, whose work was held in esteem in his family[1]; or (which is more likely) the reference is to one or other of Abhinavagupta's teachers, such as Bhaṭṭa Tauta or Bhaṭṭendurāja, the former of whom is cited as *asmad-upādhyāyāḥ* or *asmad-guravaḥ* very often in Abhinava's commentary on Bharata. Again, Kayyaṭa states that he wrote his commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devīśataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka ix) at about 977 A.D., so that by the end of the tenth century Ānandavardhana was well enough established in fame to have two such learned commentators. Finally, Rājaśekhara, who lived about the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, mentions and cites Ānandavardhana by name in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 16), and this should certainly clear up any doubt as to the authenticity of the date assigned by Kahlaṇa and accepted by Bühler and Jacobi.

(2)

The celebrated work on Poetics known as *Dhvanyāloka* (also called *Kāvyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka*),[2] of which or a part of which Ānandavardhana is reputed to be the author, may be distinguished ino two parts, viz. (1) the Kārikā, consisting of verses and treating of *dhvani*, and (2) the Vṛtti, or exposition, generally in prose with illustrative verses, of the Kārikā. Now the question has been raised whether the Kārikā and the Vṛtti are of the same authorship or should be attributed to different authors.

1 Jacobi, *WZKM* iv, pp. 237-38.

2 The work is called *Kāvyāloka* by Abhinava in the concluding verses of Uddyota iii and iv. But in his comm. on Bharata (vii, vol. i, p. 344; xvi. 5, vol. ii, pp. 299-300) he refers to his own comm. on the *Dhvanyāloka* as *Sahṛdayāloka-locana*.—For a brief summary of the contents of the work see Kane in *HSP*, pp. 190-91.—On Dhvanyāloka and the text of the Dhvani-kārikās see S. P. Bhatta-

Abhinavagupta. who is followed in this respect by several later writers on Poetics, carefully distinguishes between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra, by directly opposing them, and also by using the term *vṛtti-grantha* in contradistinction to the *kārikā*[1]. In three of these passages (pp. 123, 130-1; ch. iv p. 29) Abhinavagupta expressly tries to reconcile the conflicting views expressed by the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra.

Bühler[2] first drew attention to this point; and Jacobi[3], relying on Abhinavagupta's testimony, put forward the suggestion that the Dhvanikāra, the supposed author of the Kārikā, was a different and older writer who should be distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the author of the Vṛtti. In support of this, it has been pointed out that one does not find complete agreement of opinion between the two parts of the work, although the one is an exposition of the other. On the other hand, it seems that the system as given in its bare outline by the Kārikākāra in his concise verses has been considerably expanded, revised, and modified by the Vṛttikāra; and many problems not discussed or even hinted at by the former are elaborately treated of by the latter. In one place, for instance (p. 123), Abhinavagupta clearly points out that the classification of *dhvani* according to *vastu, alaṃkāra,* and *rasādi* is not expressly taught in any Kārikā; while in another place in ch. iv, Abhinavagupta states that the question as to the source of the endless variety of *artha* in poetry is mentioned by the Vṛtti-

1 pp. 1, 59-60, 71, 78, 85, 104, 123, 130-1; ch iv pp. 25, 29, 37, 38, 39, 40 in *JDL.*, ix, 1923, Calcutta University. One of these passages from *Locana* on p. 123 would imply that the earlier commentator, the Candrikākara, probably made a similar distinction between the Kārikākāra and the Vrttikāra. For these passages collected together, see S. K. De in the *BSOS* i, pt. 4, p. 3 (reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics,* Calcutta 1959, pp. 80-90, where the whole question is discussed) and Harichand Sastri *op. cit.* pp. 86-87,

kāra but not touched upon by the Kārikākāra. Indeed, it seems that Ānandavardhana in his classical Vṛtti attempted to build up a more or less complete system of Poetics upon the loosely joined ideas and materials supplied by the brief Kārikās ; and his success was probably so marvellous that in course of time the Kārikākāra receded to the background, completely overshadowed by the more important figure of his formidable expounder ; and people considered as the Dhvanikāra not the author of the few memorial verses but the commentator Ānandavardhana himself, who for the first time fixed the theory in its present form. The term "Dhvanikāra" itself came gradually to be used in the generic sense of "the creator of the Dhvani School", and therefore indiscriminately applied by later writers to Ānandavardhana, who might not have been the founder of the system, but who came to receive that credit for having first victoriously introduced it in the struggle of the schools.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the apocryphal verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara in Jahlaṇa, Ānandavardhana is regarded as the founder of the *dhvani*-theory. Similarly, Samudrabandha (p. 4), passing in review the five schools of Poetics before Ruyyaka, mentions Ānandavardhana as the founder of the fifth or last Dhvani School. This would also explain the two groups of apparently puzzling citations from the *Dhvanyāloka* met with in the works of later writers, in which they either confuse or identify Ānandavardhana with the Dhvanikāra. On the one hand, we have several Kārikās cited under the name of Ānandavardhana, while on the other, several passages which occur in the Vṛtti are given under the name of the Dhvanikāra. This confusion was so complete in later writers that even in the latter part of the eleventh century Mahimabhaṭṭa, who professed to demolish the new theory by his fierce onslaught in the *Vyakti-viveka*, quotes from the Kārikā and the Vṛtti indiscriminately under the generic appellation of the Dhvanikāra. In the same way Kṣemendra,

in the first quarter of the twelfth, make Ānandavardhana responsible for Kārikās iii. 24 and i. 4 respectively, while still later writers like Jayaratha, Viśvanātha, Govinda and Kumārasvāmin regard Ānandavardhana himself as the Dhvanikāra, to whom the the Kārikā, as well as the Vṛtti, is indiscriminately attributed[1]. Mammaṭa, generally a careful writer, distinguishes Ānandavardhana from the writer of the Kārikās, whom he styles *dhvanikāra* or *dhvanikṛt* (pp. 213 and 214), but in one place (p. 445) he apparently falls into confusion and ascribes to the Dhvanikāra a verse which undoubtedly belongs to the Vṛtti. The question, however, of the differentiation of the Kārikākāra and Vṛttikāra cannot yet be taken as finally settled.

(3)

If the Dhvanikāra, however, is distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the question naturally arises—who was this Dhvanikāra, and what date should be assigned to him? Abhinavagupta does not give us any information on this point. Jacobi, in the learned introduction to his translation of the *Dhvanyāloka*, poses the question very ably without, however, furnishing a precise solution. Sovani's hypothesis[2] that the name of the unknown Kārikākāra was Sahṛdaya, is hardly convincing ; for his grounds for this presumption are that (1) one of the alternative names of the work itself is

1 Kṣemendra, *Aucitya-vicāra*, p. 134 = *Dhvanyāloka* iii. 24 ; Hemacandra, Comm. p. 26 = Vallabhadeva, *Subhāṣ°* 157 = *Dhvanyāloka* i. 4 ; Govinda Ṭhakkura, p. 16 = *Dhvanyāloka* p. 221 ; Viśvanātha, p. 114 = *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 130 ; Jayaratha, p 119 = *Dhvanyāloka* p. 111 ; Kumārasvāmin, p. 64 = *Dhvanyāloka* iii. 3. Rājaśekhara (p. 15) in his only quotation from Ānandavardhana really cites a Parikara-śloka of the Vṛtti at p. 137. Kuntaka, on the other hand, quoting the Prakrit verse *tālā jāaṃti* (*Dhv.* p. 62), which is Ānandavardhana's own (from his lost *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā*), appears to designate Ānandavardhana as the Dhvanikāra (see introd. to *Vakrokti-jīvita*, 2nd ed. p. xi).

Sahṛdayāloka and that (2) the use of the words *sahṛdaya* and *kavi-sahṛdaya* at the end of chapter iv of the *Dhvanyāloka* and in the beginning of Abhinavagupta's commentary is significantly corroborative. It is well known, however, that the word *sahṛdaya* (lit. a man with a heart) is used in innumerable places in Alaṃkāra literature, as in the verses in question, to designate a man of taste, a judge of literary beauty, a connoisseur of Rasa. Ānandavardhana himself discusses *sahṛdayatva* at some length in his Vṛtti (p. 160), and Abhinavagupta arrives at a concise definition of a *sahṛdaya* thus (p. 11): *yeṣāṃ kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsa-vaśad viśadībhūte mano-mukure varṇanīya-tanmayī-bhavana-yogyatā, te hṛdaya-saṃvādabhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ*, a definition which became so much standardized that Hemacandra does not scruple to copy it literally (Comm. p. 3) [1]

In the absence of materials it is very difficult to decide the question finally. Jacobi maintains, on the indication of a passage in Abhinava, that this unknown Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of Manoratha, who is placed by *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (iv. 497 and 671) in the reign of Jayāpīḍa and his successor Lalitāpīḍa i.e at the third quarter of the eighth and the first quarter of the ninth century (about 780-813 A.D.); but there are difficulties which seriously stand in the way of our arriving at a definite decision on this point. While discussing the various theories which deny the existence of *dhvani*, Ānandavardhana quotes a verse anonymously with the remark: *tathā cānyena kṛta evātra ślokaḥ*, upon which Abhinavagupta in his gloss remarks: *tathā cānyena iti. granthakṛt-samāna-kāla-bhāvinā manoratha-nāmnā kavinā*. If we suppose that by *granthakṛt* Abhinavagupta means Ānandavardhana, then Manoratha, who is thus made a contemporary of the latter, lives in the middle or second part of the ninth century, i.e. somewhat

1 Mammaṭa begins his work (p. 10) with a reference to *kavi* and *sahṛdaya*, who are etymologically distinguished by Vidyādhara (p. 21); and both Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha declare that the *sahṛdaya*

later than the date assigned to him by Kahlaṇa, presuming of course that both the Manorathas are identical persons. If, on the other hand, we suppose that *granthakṛt* refers, as Jacobi conjectures, to the anonymous Dhvanikāra, we are confronted with the fresh difficulty that by the term *granthakṛt* Abhinavagupta invariably means Ānandavardhana (pp. 12, 37, 90, etc.). To remove this difficulty we must suppose either (1) that Kahlaṇa is wrong, as Pischel argues, in assigning Manoratha to the reign of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa, (2) that the two Manorathas were not identical persons, or (3) that Abhinavagupta himself has confused the Kārikākāra with the Vṛttikāra in a manner not usual with him. As there are no definite means of deciding any one of these equally plausible propositions, the conjecture that the original Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of the Manoratha of Kahlaṇa cannot be taken to have been definitely proved.[1]

(4)

It seems, on the other hand, that the Kārikās date back to an earlier time than the first quarter of the ninth century, in which the Dhvanikāra is placed by Jacobi as a contemporary of Manoratha. The allusion to Manoratha and the apparent discrepancy in Kahlaṇa's statement need not trouble us, nor need we challenge the otherwise trustworthy testimony of Abhinavagupta; for it is quite reasonable to suppose that the Manoratha under discussion is perhaps a poet who was, Abhinavagupta says, contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana, and therefore quite a different person from the well known Manoratha of Kahlaṇa. This is perhaps a much simpler explanation than straining the word *granthakṛt* to mean the Kārikākāra in the face of Abhinavagupta's own distinct indication to the contrary; and in this way we are not affected in the least by Kahlaṇa's Manoratha, with whom we have nothing to do. If, on the other hand, we place the

1 T. R. Chintamani in *JOR* ii (1928), pp. 44-47 tries to reconcile the discrepancies.

Dhvanikāra in the time of Kahlaṇa's Manoratha, this would leave only a bare margin of one or two generations between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra, which does not seem to be enough to make room for a period of scholastic exposition of the subject. But undoubted traces of such activity are preserved to us in the few memorial verses—*parikara-ślokas* (pp. 34, 130, 137, 147, 163), *saṃgraha-ślokas* (pp. 87, 223), *saṃkṣepa-ślokas* (pp. 44, 74, 243)—incorporated by Ānandavardhana in his Vṛtti which itself, therefore, is not likely to be the first of its kind. These Ślokas are a sort of recapitulation-stanzas which are adduced by the Vṛttikāra from unknown sources, sometimes to explain the meaning of the Kārikās, but more often to amplify and supplement them. But at the same time we need not suppose a very long intervening period between the original dogmatic formulator of a theory and its first thoughtful expounder ; for it is not necessary that a system should always require a long stretch of time in forming itself. The phenomenon is not unusual that if a literary or intellectual movement is already afoot and is, at it were, in a effervescent state, a few generations, or at most a century, are enough to bring it to the inevitable culmination, or at least to some preliminary completion. If we suppose that a system of *dhvani* had been in existence at a very early period, we should expect to find, as we do find to a certain extent in the case of the Rasa-theory, its influence working, at least indirectly, on the earlier writers who preceded Ānandavardhana, although this argument in itself does not carry with it a decisive force. It may be admitted, on the other hand, that the Dhvanikāra apparently shows himself conversant with some theories of *rasa, rīti* and *alaṃkāra.* But this neither proves nor disproves his own antiquity or that of his system, for there is no evidence to show that he was aware of the particular views of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin or Vāmana who championed these theories ; nor are these writers to be taken, like the Dhvanikāra himself, as the absolute founders of the systems they individually

represent. It only goes to establish that the theory, enunciated by the Dhvanikāra, might have existed side by side with these systems, as we find them in the extant works; for it could not have been much later, inasmuch as such a supposition would bring it too near the time of Ānandavardhana himself. If the Dhvanikāra was contemporaneous with Daṇḍin or Vāmana, he may be placed at most a century earlier than his commentator in the first half of the 8th century.

(5)

If Ānandavardhana gave the final authoritative shape to the *dhvani*-theory (only the details of which were worked out by Abhinavagupta and others), the anonymous Dhvanikāra was not its absolute creator. This is made clear by the first Kārikā, which tells us that the theory was already taught by earlier thinkers, and that it existed even at the time of the Dhvanikāra himself in various forms, handed down, as Ānandavardhana explains, in unbroken tradition (*paraṃparayā yaḥ samāmnātaḥ*), although it may not have been explained, as Abhinava adds in his gloss, in particular books (*avicchinnena pravāheṇa tair etad uktam, vināpi viśiṣṭa-pustakeṣu vivecanād ity abhiprāyaḥ*, p. 3). This implies without doubt that the school existed from a very early time, but some unknown writer gathered together, summed up, and fixed the theory in a form which obtained considerable literary esteem for his work and the honoured but somewhat vague appellation of the Dhvanikāra for himself. But his name and fame, in course of time, were eclipsed by those of his great Vṛttikāra who succeeded in establishing the theory for all time and to whom posterity began to ascribe, not altogether undeservedly, all the honours of his predecessor, so that one of the latest writers on Alaṃkāra, Kumārasvāmin (p. 288), glorifies him with the curious but significant epithet—Dhvanyācārya.

(6)

Very little is known of Ānandavardhan's personal history. The colophon at the end of ch. iii of his work in the India

Office MS calls him *noṇopādhyāyātmaja*, while the colophon to ch. iv gives the form *jonopādhyāya*. Of these two forms of the name of his father, the former seems to be correct, for referring to Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka*, Hemacandra (Comm. p.225) cities its author as *noṇa-sutaḥ śrīmad-ānanda-vardhana-nāmā*. Kayyaṭa also, commenting on the last punning verse of the same work, refers to the author as the son of Noṇa, and mentions his two works, the *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā* and *Arjuna-carita*, supposed to have been punningly alluded to in that verse. Both these works are cited in Ānandavardhana's Vṛtti, by Abhinavagupta (pp. 152, 176, 222), by Hemacandra (pp. 15, 213); and the first work appears to be a Prakrit poem. Ānandavardhana himself refers to another work of his own at p. 233, on which Abhinava adds the gloss: *granthāntara iti viniścaya-ṭīkāyāṃ dharmottamāyāṃ yā vivṛtir amunā granthakṛtā kṛtā*. This is apparently a work called *Dharmottamā* a commentary on the (*Pramāṇa-*) *viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti. Abhinava in *Locana* iv (p. 31) refers to another work of Ānandavardhana's called *Tattvāloka*, in which the latter is said to have discussed, among other things, the relation between *kāvya-naya* and *śāstra-naya*.

(7)

ABHINAVAGUPTA

Abhinavagupta's fame rests chiefly on his philosophical works on Kashmir Śaivaism, but he appears also to have attained a considerable reputation in the realm of Poetics by his two remarkable commentaries on Bharata and on Ānandavardhana, called respectively *Abhinava-bhāratī* and *Kāvyāloka-locana*. Since the *Locana* is cited several times by name, it seems to have been written before the other commentary. He also cites in his *Locana* (p. 179, also p, 29) another commentary (*vivaraṇa*) of his own, now lost, on the *Kāvya-kautuka* by one of his teachers (*asmad-upādhyāya*) Bhaṭṭa Tauta. Nothing is

known of this Bhaṭṭa Tauta (also called Bhaṭṭa Toṭa); but it appears from its fourth introductory verse that Abhinava's commentary on Bharata was inspired by this teacher, who is cited there very frequently, just as his *Locana* was inspired by his other teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja. The exact scope and extent of Tauta's lost work is not known, but from Abhinavagupta's reference (pp. 187, 275, 310) it appears to have dealt with the theories of poetry in general and Rasa in particular, and explained some relevant passages from the *Nāṭya-śāstra*.[1]

The *Kāvya-kautuka* is also referred to in the anonymous commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka* (p. 13); and Hemacandra (p. 316) quotes three verses from Bhaṭṭa Tauta in his text and reproduces (p. 59) in his commentary (appropriating the passage directly from Abinava on Bharata) an opinion of this teacher in connexion with the theory of Rasa. Kṣemendra in his *Aucitya-vicāra* (under *śl.* 35) attributes to Tauta a fragment of a verse which is given in full but anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 3)[2]. Tauta is quoted also by Māṇikyacandra (at p. 5), by Śrīdhara and by Caṇḍīdāsa in their respective commentaries on Mammaṭa.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta, together with Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is extravagantly praised in the *Locana* and whose relation to Abhinava we have already discussed, were probably his preceptors in Kāvya and Alaṃkāra. His references to his instructors in philosophy, like Siddhicela[3], Lakṣmaṇagupta and others, in his philosophical works possess no interest for us; but it may be noted that Abinava, in his *Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī Laghu-vṛtti* refers to Utpala as his *parama-guru*, the teacher

1 See above under commentators on Bharata p. 33, 101. Someśvara (Comm. on Mammaṭa p. 55) appears to have seen the work, as well as Abhinava's comm. on it (*tac ca Bhaṭṭa-Totena Kāvya-kautuke, Abhinavaguptaś ca tad-vṛttau nirṇitam*).

2 This verse is ascribed, perhaps wrongly, to Māmaha (or Bhāmaha ?) in *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana, p. 4, ed, Benares.

3 Cited in *Locana*, concluding verses.

of his teacher. This description of Utpala (see above p. 33) is repeated in his *Locana* (p. 30), where Abhinava discusses the term *pratyabhijñā*, used in the text (i. 8), and refers to what is said on this point by Utpala. This Utpala is well known in the history of Kashmir Śaivaism as the author of the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* (on whose *Sūtra* and *Vṛtti* Abhinava wrote a *Laghu Vṛtti* and a *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* respectively), and is assigned by Bühler (*op. cit* p. 79) to the first half of the 10th century. From what Abhinava himself says in his numerous works on Kashmir Śaivaism, we may indicate the line of spiritual succession (*guru-paramparā*) thus: Somānanda—Utpala—Lakṣmaṇagupta—Abhinavagupta ; Somānanda being probably a pupil of Vasugupta who is taken as the earliest founder of the Pratyabhijñā-śāstra. The *guru-parampara* in his study of the Tantras may be given thus: Sumatinātha—Somadeva—Śaṃbhunātha—Abhinavagupta.

In the concluding portion of his *Parātriṃśikā-vivaraṇa*, Abhinava gives us an interesting personal and genealogical account, in which he tells us that he was son of Kāśmīraka Cukhala[1] and grandson of Varāhagupta, and had a brother named Manorathagupta. Abhinava's date is easily gathered from his relation to Utpala and Ānandavardhana, as well as from his own dating of some of his works. As we have mentioned above, his *Krama-stotra* was composed in 990-91 A. D. and his *Bhairava-* or *Īśvara-stotra* in 992-93 A.D, while his *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* on Utpala's *Pratyabhijñā* bears the date 1015 A.D. We can therefore, place him with certainty at the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century[2].

1 Bühler's MS has *kāśmīraka viculaka* (*op. cit.* p. clv) as well as °*cukhala* (p. clvii) ; the real name appears to have been Narasiṃha-gupta, while his mother's name was Vimalā

2 For the works of Abhinavagupta see K C. Pandey, *Abhinava-gupta*, ChSS, Benares 1935 pp. 122-24 ; V. Raghavan in *JOR*, xiv pp. 318-20 and *New Cat. Cat.* i, pp. 224-26. On Writers quoted in Abhinavabhāratī see V. Raghavan in *JOR* vi pp. 153-62.

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by Udayottuṅga or Udaya-rāja from Kerala, publ. as above, Madras 1944 by Kappuswami Sastri. The author probably flourished in the second half of the 15th century (K. R. Pisharoti in *Journal of the Ganganath Jha R. Institute*, i, pp. 445 52). He wrote a Dūta-kāvya named *Mayūra-saṃdeśa* (ed. C. Kunhan Raja, Poona Orient. Series 1944); on which see K. Kunjunni Raja, *op. cit.* p. 228.

The *Candrikā* comm. on Ānandavardhana, referred to by Abhinava and others, is apparently lost.

On *Abhinava-bhāratī* on Bharata see above under Bharata.

No MS has been discovered of Abhinava's *Kāvya-kautuka-vivaraṇa*, or of the *Kāvya-kautaka* itself.

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CHAPTER V

FROM RĀJAŚEKHARA TO MAHIMABHAṬṬA

RĀJAŚEKHARA

(1)

Rājaśekhara, son of *mahāmantrin* Durduka or Duhika and Śīlāvatī[1] and great-grandson of the poet Akālajalada of the Yāyāvara family, is better known as a poet and dramatist than as a writer on Poetics. In his *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* i. 12, Rāja śekhara describes himself as the author of six works which must have existed even before this presumably early production of his.[2] It is not known whether his other three well known dramas belong to this period, but it appears that he probably composed more than six works. Hemacandra (Comm. p. 335) cites a work of Rājaśekhara's, entitled *Hara-vilāsa*, as an example of a poem which bears the name of its author (*sva-nāmāṅktā*), and quotes two verses from the same (Comm. pp. 334-335); from which Ujjvaladatta also (ii. 28) gives a half-verse. In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, again (xvii p. 98), there is a reference to another work of his own, called *Bhuvana-kośa*, for information on general geography.[3] Ujjvaladatta (ii. 76) also quotes a line from Rājaśekhara on the synonyms

1 *Bāla-rāmā°* *ad* i. 7, 13; *Bāla-bhā°* *ad* i. 8; *Viddha-śāla°* *ad* i. 5. Rājaśekhara calls himself a Kavirāja (*Karpūra-mañj°* i. 9; *Viddha-śāla* i. 5), which is, according to *Kāv.mīm.*, the seventh, out of the ten stages, of poetic skill, one degree higher than that of a *mahākavi*.

2 In *Karpūra-mañj°* i. 9 we are told that Rājaśekhara began his career as a *bāla-kavi*, so called apparently from his two works *Bāla-rāmā°* and *Bāla-bhā°*; while in this Prakrit drama, as well as in *Viddha-śāla°*, he appears to have attained the distinction of a *Kavirāja*.

3 Kane (*HSP*, p. 207-8) believes that the *Bhuvana-kośa* was not a separate work but formed a part of the *Kav. mīm.*

of Śiva, which, if not occurring in the *Hara-vilāsa*, was probably taken from an unknown lexicon by him.

In the two anthologies of Vallabhadeva and Śārṅgadhara, we get a considerable number of verses ascribed to Rājaśekhara. Of these, about 24 have been identified by Sten Konow in Rājaśekhara's four plays,[1] but about 10 have not yet been traced in any of his known works, nor are they to be found in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā.* These untraced verses, including most of the memorial verses on poets, probably belong to another and younger Rājaśekhara.[2]

There can be hardly any doubt that the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* should be ascribed to the dramatist Rājaśekhara, although it is not mentioned in these enumerations of Rājaśekhara's works.[3] Our author gives his own name at the end of the first chapter of this work as *yāyāvarīya* Rājaśekhara, which agrees with the description given in the dramas and which makes later writers cite our author simply as *yāyāvara*[4]. The opinions of the *yāyāvara* family, to which he belonged and in which

1 ed. *Karpūra-mañj°* pp. 189-91.

2 This other Rājaśekhara may or may not be the Jaina Rājaśekhara, author of the *Prabandha-kośa* (1348 A.D.). Rice 282 mentions a work called *Karpūra-rasa-mañjarī* by Bālakavi, which apparently refers to Rājaśekhara and his well known Prakrit drama, and not to any work on Alaṃkāra.

3 Aufrecht notes (*ABod* 135a) that the *Kāv. mīm.* is cited by name by Śaṃkara in his commentary on *Śakuntalā.*

4 *Bāla-bhā°* I. 6. 13; *Viddha-śāla°* i. 5; and Dhanapāla in *Tilaka-mañj°* ed. Kāvyamālā 85, 1903, *śl.* 33, and Māṇikyacandra in *Saṃketa* comm. (ed. Mysore) p. 308. Also Hemacandra (p. 235) and Someśvara (ed. Jodhpur 1959, p. 224, *yāyāvarīya*). Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita on *Viddha-śāla.* i. 5 quotes Devala to show that *yāyāvara* means a kind of a householder (*dvividho gṛhasthaḥ, yāyāvaraḥ śālīnaś ca*; see *Mitākṣarā* on Yājña° i. 128) according to which *yāyāvara* means a particular class of Brahmans who lead a plain life and do not accept gifts etc. Rājaśekhara's wife came from Kṣatriya family, but Anuloma marriage was permitted. See Kane, *Hist* of *Dhamma-śāstra* ii. pp. 641-42.

were born poets and scholars like Surānanda,[1] Akālajalada,[2] Tarala[3] and Kavirāja, are cited frequently by him under the general designation *yāyāvarīya*,[4] as well as under the individual names of these famous members of the family who are enumerated in the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* i. 13 and elsewhere. He also quotes with respect the views of his wife Avantisundarī of the Cāhuāna family (pp. 20, 46, 57), for whose pleasure, we know, he wrote his *Karpūra-mañjarī* (i. 11) and who seems to have been an accomplished authoress. The present work does not also omit a display the author's love for Prakrit dialects (pp. 34, 51) as well as his knowledge of geography (ch. xvii), of which he gives ample evidence in Act x of the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. These and other details, on which we need not dwell any further, show that our Rājaśekhara is no other than the well known dramatist.[5]

(2)

The published text of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in eighteen chapters is apparently the first part of a projected extensive volume, of which a general summary or scheme is given in

1 An ornament of the country of the Cedis (*cedi-maṇḍala-nandana*, Jalhaṇa's *Sūkti-muktāvali* 88-89, p. 47). His patron Raṇavigraha is supposed by Bhandarkar (*Report*, 1887-91, p. xix) to have been the brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, whose dates range from 875 to 911 A.D. Quoted also in *Kāv. mīm.* p. 75.

2 Rājaśekhara's great-grandfather. This is not his real name but sobriquet derived from the expression in *Śr. Paddhati* 777 = *Subhāṣ°* 843 (*dākṣiṇātya*). Famous for his poetical jems, some of which were plagiarised by Kādambarīrāma (Jahlaṇa *Sūkti-muktāvali* 83-84 (p. 46). Called *mahārāṣṭra-cūdāmaṇi* in *Bāla-rāmā°* i. 13; also see *Viddha-śāla°* i. 5.

3 Cited by Jahlaṇa. Author of a work, called probably *Suvarṇa-bandha*.

4 pp 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16. 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35, 42, 43, 46, 50, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 78, 90. 91, 94, 99, 100.

5 See S. K. De, *Hist. of Kāvya Lit.* ch. viii for Rājaśekhara and his dramas.—In *Karp. m.* (on i. 6) he describes himself as *sarva-bhāṣā-catura*. As a poet he claims that in his former births he was Valmīki, Meṇṭha and Bhavabhūti!

the first chapter ; this fact is also indicated by occasional remarks (like *rītayas tisras tās tu purastāt* p. 10 and *tam aupaiṣadike vakṣyamaḥ* p. 11) relating to topics to be dealt with in other succeeding parts. If the complete work, as projected, consisted of eighteen *adhikaraṇas*, we have now only one part surviving on the preliminary topic of *kavi-rahasya* alone.[1] Keśava Miśra (pp. 32, 67) quotes three verses from an Alaṃkāra work by Rājaśekhara, which, if they belong to our author, were apparently taken, as their contents indicate, from some lost chapters on *ubhayālaṃkārika* and *vainodika* respectively.

The popularity of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* with later writers is indicated by the extensive use made of it by Kṣemendra, Bhoja, Hemacandra and the younger Vāgbhaṭa. Hemacandra, for instance, literally copies long passages from chs. viii, ix, xiii-xviii ; while Vāgbhaṭa borrows the same (as well as other) portions either directly from the same source or indirectly through Hemacandra.[2]

Rājaśekhara himself is indebted to many old writers and cites directly the opinions of Medhāvirudra (p. 12), Udbhaṭa and Audbhaṭas (pp. 22, 44), Vāmana and Vāmanīyas (pp. 14, 20), Rudraṭa (p. 31), Maṅgala (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) and Ānanda (p. 16), besides unnamed authors who are cited under the general designation *ācarya*.[3] We also find the name of Āparājiti. One Aparajita is[4] quoted in *Subhāṣitāvalī* 1024, and mentioned as a contemporary poet and author of *Mṛgāṅka-lekhā-kathā* in *Karpūra-mañjarī*, *ad* i. 8. Rājaśekhara also

1 Cf. introd. to *Kāv. mīm.* p. xvii-xviii.

2 A comparative table is given of these wholesale borrowings at the end of the notes in the Gaekwad ed. of the text.

3 pp. 3, 9, 13, 16, 20, 23, 30, 35, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 61; 62, 78, 94, 99.

4 One Aparājita-rakṣita is quoted in *Kavīndra-vacana* but as his name implies he was probably a Buddhist, and is possibly not identical with Rājaśekhara's contemporary Āparajitī. V. Raghavan (*JOR.* vi. p. 170) thinks that this Āparajiti of Rājaśekhara is none else than Lollaṭa. See above p. 37, for 1.

mentions Surānanda, one of his ancestors, his wife Avantisundarī,[1] Pālyakīrti (p. 46), Śyāmadeva (pp. 11, 13, 17) and Vākpatirāja[2] (p. 62), all of whom, as the citations show, seem to have expressed some opinion on the topics under discussion.

(3)

The date of Rājaśekhara has been settled with some exactitude. We learn from his four extant plays[3] that his ancestors lived in Mahārāṣṭra, and he himself spent much of his life in the midland as a teacher (*upādhyāya*) to a king named Mahendrapāla (otherwise known as Nirbhaya or Nibbhaya); Rājaśekhara was also patronised by his son and successor Mahīpāla.[4] We also understand that one of his plays, the *Bāla-bhārata*, was performed at a place called Mahodaya, for which he shows a partiality also in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 94). Fleet has shown[5] that this Mahīpāla should be identified with the Mahīpāla of Asni inscription, dated 917 A. D., and he agrees with Pischel[6] that Mahodaya is another name for Kānyakubja or Kanauj,[7] with which place this king, as well as Mahendrapāla, is connected in the

1 A Sanskrit verse of Avantisundarī is quoted in *Kav. mīm.* p. 46; but no work of hers has come down to us. Hemacandra in his *Deśī-nāma-mālā* quotes three Prakrit verses of Avantisundarī (i. 81. and i. 157).

2 This Vākpatirāja (Bapai-rāa) is apparently the author of the *Gauḍavaho* (middle of the 8th century; Kahlaṇa iv. 144) and must be distinguished from Muñja-vākpatirāja, the 7th Paramāra king of Mālava, who reigned from 947 to 995 A.D. See below under Dhanañjaya.

3 *Viddha-śāla°* i. 6; *Bāla-rāmā°* i. 5; *Bāla-bhāra°* i. 7, 11; *Karpūra-mañj°* i. 5, 9.

4 *Bāla-bhāra°* i. 9.

5 *IA* xvi. 175-78.

6 *GgA*, 1883, pp. 1217f.

7 Cf. *Bāla-rāmā°* x *ad* 87, 89, 90. Rājaśekhara's partiality for Mahodaya is also apparent in our text at pp. 8, 94.

Siyadoni inscription[1]. It has also been shown by Aufrecht[2] and Pischel[3] that Mahendrapāla, whose dates appear to be 903-07 A. D. from Kielhorn's summing up of the names of the four sovereigns of Kanauj as presented by the Siyadoni inscription, went also by the *biruda* of Nirbhara or Nirbhaya (Nibbhara or Nibbhaya in the Prakrit form), a fact of which Fleet seems to have been unaware.[4] Rājaśekhara appears to have become at some time of his life a protégé of Yuvarāja who has been identified with Yuvarāja I Kayūravarṣa, the Kalacuri ruler of Tripuri (in the kingdom of Cedi), where the poet's relative Surānanda had migrated. From these evidences, it is clear that Rājaśekhara must have flourished in the beginning of the 10th century, and probably also lived towards the end of the 9th. This is also supported by the fact that the latest writers quoted by Rājaśekhara are the Kashmirian Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana, who belong to the middle or second half of the 9th century, while the earliest writer to mention Rājaśekhara appears to be the Jaina Somadeva, whose *Yaśastilaka* is dated 960 A. D.[5] About the same time Abhinavagupta (in his Comm. on Bharata) expressly mentions *Karpūra-mañjarī* as a Saṭṭaka, as well as *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. In the Anthologies Rājaśekhara is extensively quoted from the 12th century onward.[6]

1 *EI* i. 170 f. 2 *ZDMG* xxvii (on Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati).

3 *op. cit.* p. 1221.

4 Fleet further shows (*op. cit.* p. 175f) that this Mahendrapāla must not be taken, as Peterson and Durgaprasada are inclined to take him, to be identical with the feudatory Mahendrapāla, whose inscription from Dighwa-Dubauli, dated 761-62 A.D., he has edited in *IA* xv. 105, and who is distinct from the pupil of Rājaśekhara.

5 For other details about Rājaśekhara see Sten Konow's edition of *Karpūra-mañj*' (Harvard Orient. Series 4, 1901). 175f, which gives a full bibliography.—It is difficult to summarise the diverse and somewhat diffuse contents of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā;* but a general résumé will be found below in vol. ii. ch. ix (3). A good summary will be found also in Kane, *op. cit* pp. 199-201.

6 See F. W. Thomas, introd. to *Kavīndra-vacana*, where most of these citations are collected together.

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DHANAÑJAYA AND DHANIKA

(1)

The date of Dhanañjaya may be taken as approximately settled at the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The author informs us (iv. 80) that he was son of Viṣṇu and that he flourished in the circle of distinguished literary men surrounding king Muñja, who himself seems to have been a man of taste and learning, as well as a patron of letters. We should not, with Peterson[1], confound this Muñja, better known as Muñja-vākpatirāja, with Vākpatirāja (or Bappai-rāa), the author of *Gauḍavaho,* who lived in the first half of the 8th century under king Yaśovarman of Kanauj and is referred to by Kahlaṇa (iv. 144) and Rājaśekhara. Our Muñja appears to be the seventh ruler of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava, who, as his own inscriptions record[2], came to the throne in 974 A.D., succeeding his father Harṣadeva Sīyaka, and reigned till about 995 A.D., when he was defeated, imprisoned and executed, as the Cālukya inscriptions attest[3], by Cālukya

1 introd. to *Subhā,*4° p. 115.

2 *Arch. Survey. Western Ind.* iii. 100 = *IA* vi. 48-51 ; *IA* xiv. 159-60. See Bühler, *Das Navasāhasāṅka-carita* (transl. in IA xxxvi, pp. 149-172), 1888, p. 116f.

3 *IA* xii. 270, xvi. 18, 23, xxi. 167-68 ; *EI* ii. 212 f. All the references (regarding Muñja's date) are collected together in Haas's introd. to his ed. of the *Daśa-rūpaka* (*q. v.*).

Tailapa II. Besides being known as Vākpatirāja[1], owing perhaps to the fact that he was himself a poet, he had several other *birudas*, such as Amoghavarṣa, Pṛthvī-vallabha, and Śrī-vallabha; and one of his inscriptions calls him Utpalarāja[2]; a fact, overlooked by the editors of the Kāvyamālā Series (Gucchaka i, p. 131), made them confound him with Utpala, the Śaiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was Abhinavagupta's *parama-guru*. This ruler is mentioned by Śambhu[3], as well as by Padmagupta[4], as 'a friend of poets' (*kavi-bāndhava* or *kavi-mitra*) ; and Bhoja, his nephew and successor, appears to have inherited these traits of his character.

(2)

The *Daśa-rūpaka* of Dhanañjaya, in its treatment of Dramaturgy, is apparently based on the time-honoured authority of Bharata ; but as Bharata's huge compendium, both from the practical as well as theoretical point of view, is discursive and cumbersome with its load of histrionic and other matters, Dhanañjaya attempts to sift the mass of details, and, limiting himself only to Dramaturgy, restates the general principles in the form of a practical, condensed and systematic manual. These features of the new contribution ap-

1 Dhanika quotes (on iv. 54-55) one of Muñja's verses twice, citing him in the first instance as Muñja and in the other case as Vākpatirāja-deva ; while Dhanapāla in his *Tilaka-mañjarī* uses both the names with respect to the same person. One of Muñja's descendants, Arjunavarman, who ruled in the beginning of the 13th century, reproduces one of Muñja's stanzas, with the remark that it was composed by one of his ancestors "Muñja, whose other name was Vākpatirāja" (Comm. on *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Kāvyamālā 1916, p. 23). This verse is attributed to Muñja also by Jahlaṇa p. 199.

2 Kṣemendra quotes verses from Muñja in his three works (*Aucit. vic.* under *śl.* 16 ; *Kavi-kaṇṭhā°* under ii. 1 ; *Suvṛtta-til.* under ii. 6) referring to him as Utpalarāja. See also Śārṅgadhara (126 *vākpatirājasya ;* 1017 *utpalarājasya*), Vallabhadeva (3414 *śrīharṣadevātmaja-vākpatirājasya*), and Jahlaṇa pp. 63 and 199 (*Śrī-muñjasya*).

3 *Rājendra-karṇa-pūra, śl* 17, 36.

4 *Navasāhasāṅka°* i. 7, 8 ; ii. 93.

parently obtained for it such reputation and currency that in course of time it seems to have superseded not only all other treatises on the subject but also the basic work of Bharata himself. Viśvanātha, for instance, refers now and then to Bharata and gives one or two (mostly conventional) quotations from *Nāṭya-śāstra* ; but in the main he bases his treatment of dramaturgic topics on Dhanañjaya ; while Vidyānātha admits, in the *nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* of his own work, his indebtedness to the latter, with the remark *eśā prakriyā daśarūpoktarīty anusāreṇa* (p. 131).

The *Daśa-rupaka*, consisting of four chapters called Prakāśas, deals almost entirely with the topics of dramaturgy, but the fourth and last Prakāśa contains a treatment of the theory of Rasa. The first Prakāśa distinguishes Nṛtya, defines the five Artha-prakṛtis and the Saṃdhis (with their Aṅgas), and concludes with definitions of Viṣkambhaka, Praveśaka and other dramatic devices. The second Prakāśa is devoted to the topic of Nāyaka and Nāyikā, their characteristics, their adjuncts, and considers the four dramatic Vṛttis and their Aṅgas. The third Prakāśa is concerned with the Prologue and other requisites of the ten kinds of Rūpaka. In the fourth Prakāśa we have an exposition of its peculiar theory of Rasa in which, not the relation of Vyaṅgya-vyañjaka but that of Bhāvya-bhāvaka is posited, after Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, between Rasa and Kāvya.

(3)

Dhanika, also described as son of Viṣṇu, and author of the *Avaloka* commentary on Dhanañjaya's work, was probably one of Dhanañjaya's numerous illustrious contemporaries ; for he may be assigned to the same period. Dhanika quotes from Padmagupta (also known as Parimala)[1], who wrote about 995 A.D., as well as from Muñja, and is quoted in his turn by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* in the first half of the

1 on ii. 37b = *Navasāhasāṅka*° vi. 42.

11th century. He is also described in one of the MSS[1] as holding the office of *mahāsādhyapāla* under king Utpalarāja, who is apparently our Muñja-vākpati, the patron of Dhanañjaya. The suggestion that the author and the commentator of *Daśa-rūpaka* are one and the same person, chiefly on the ground of the apparent similarity of names and identity of patronymic, as well as the inadvertant attribution of a verse of Dhanañjaya's to Dhanika in some later works like the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* vi. 64a=*Daśa-rūpaka* iii. 29), need not be seriously considered.[2] Jacobi, however, supports this suggestion[3] by pointing out that there is no separate *maṅgalācaraṇa* to the commentary. This hypothesis, however, cannot altogether get rid of the fact that Dhanañjaya and Dhanika are indeed distinguished by some later writers. For instance, Vidyānātha, in his numerous references to the *Daśa-rūpaka*, cites the Kārikā-verses and never from the commentary,[4] although his commentator, Kumārasvāmin, falls in one place[5] (p. 29) into the error of attributing one of Dhanañjaya's

1 Wilson, *Select Specimens,* 3rd ed. I, xx, xxi, endorsed by Hall p. 3 notes. It is curious to note that Dhanika (on iv. 23, ed. Parab) quotes *nidrārdha°* which occurs in the *Caura-pañcaśikā* (ed. Solf no. 36) attributed to Bihlaṇa, but this anonymous quotation (which also occurs in Kuntaka) does not of itself place Dhanika later than the middle of the 11th century, the date of Bihlaṇa; for the authencity of the verse is not beyond question, as it is attributed to Kalaśaka in *Subhāṣ°* 1280 and Jahlaṇa p. 152, and Bihlaṇa's authorship is open to question. It is not safe, therefore, to base any choronological conclusion on this quotation. Haas has not noticed the verse at all.

2 Haas (Pref. to ed. *Daśa-rūpaka* xxxiv) is inaccurate in stating that there is in the commentary "a number of indications of a difference of authorship," and in support of this he cites ii. 20b-21a, iii. 32b, iv 43c. Jacobi elaborately shows (*GgA*, 1913, pp. 304f) that Haas has entirely misunderstood these passages.

3 *Op. cit.* p. 303. Also Lévi in *JA*, 1886, p. 221.

4 p. 46. 101, 102, 104, 105, 114, 124, 131, 219, 221, 228.

5 In other passages the citation appears to be correct, pp. 47,

verses (ii. 23b) to Dhanika. It may also be urged that a *maṅgala*-verse to the *Avaloka,* occurring in one of the MSS, is rejected by Hall as spurious, chiefly on the ground that its style is "too pedestrian for so ornate a stylist as Dhanika" (p. 4 note). This 'pedestrian' stanza is apparently the same as that which occurs at the outset of Aufrecht's Bodlein MS, noticed by him in his *Bod. Cat.* 203a. On the other hand, the absence of the *maṅgala*-verse need not in itself be taken as decisive; for while Mammaṭa has no separate *maṅgala*-verse to his Vṛtti, we find them in Vāmana and Ruyyaka. Śārṅgadhara in his anthology attributes to Dhanika several verses (3417 and 3973) which the latter gives as his own in his commentary (on iv. 3a and ii. 10a). If, therefore, we suppose, as it is more likely, that the author and the commentator were not identical, then Dhanika may be taken as a brother of Dhanañjaya (a supposition which explains the apparent similarity of names and identity of patronymic), who collaborated in the production of the work[1] by writing the commentary.

From the *Avaloka* we learn that its author composed poems in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, and also wrote a treatise, entitled *Kāvya-nirṇaya* (on iv. 35 ; seven verses quoted) which alluded to the *Dhvanyāloka* and apparently dealt with the general topics of Poetics.

For other less known commentaries on *Daśa-rūpaka*, see Bibliography given below.[2]

128, 130, 221, 233, 235, 259. Raṅganātha on *Vikramor°* (about 1656 A.D.; ed. N. S. P. 1914 p. 31) falls into the same mistake. Mallinātha on *Kumāra°* i. 4 and *Śiśu°* vii. 11 quotes *Daśa-rūpaka* correctly (ii. 36b and ii. 24a).

1 This supposition does not militate against the passage (on iv. 33), referred to by Jacobi, in which the commentator intimately identifies himself with the author saying *asmābhiḥ.........niṣidhyate,* meaning that the prohibition is made both by his author and himself.

2 For later dramaturgic works, e.g. Vasantarājīya of Kumāragiri, see under Minor Writers below ch. x.

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Dhanika

Editions. Printed in Hall's and Parab's editions, with the text. Dhanika's *Kāvya-nirṇaya* is probably lost.

Other Commentaries on Dhanañjaya and Dhanika

(1) Comm. by Nṛsiṃhabhaṭṭa. MS in Govt. Orient. MSS Library, Madras (see *BSOS*, iv, 1926, p. 280). It is really a Laghu-Ṭīkā on Dhanika's Comm. (*Dasarūpasya yā vyākhyā Dhanikena samāhitā tasya Bhaṭṭa-Nṛsiṃhena laghu-ṭīkā vidhīyate*). It is interesting to note from this verse that Dhanika is mentioned as a commentator on *Daśa-rūpaka*, thus recording the tradition that the commentator Dhanika was different from Dhanañjaya, author of the *Daśa-rūpaka*. Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṃha also commented on Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

(2) *Ṭīkā* by Devapāṇi (cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* ed. N. S P. 1904, pp. 6, 31 ; cf *AFl* 444 and *ABod* 135b), No MSS discovered. This is the author who is wrongly called Pāṇi by Wilson (*Select Specimens*) and Aufrecht. Being anterior to Raṅganātha, his date should be earlier than 1656 A.D. Raṅganātha also refers to a *Sāhasāṅkīya-ṭīkā* in the same context (p. 31).

(3) °*Paddhati* by Kuravirāma (MS in Hultzch 554; only three pages) is not a commentary on the *Daśa-rūpaka*, as Hultzsch's entry would imply. It is an independent work on Dramaturgy consisting of 110 verses. See *Madras Trm* II, A, 820 (c), Kuravirāma is a modern but fertile South Indian commentator who lived at the court of Zemindars of Kārvetinagaram in North Arcot District, and wrote comms. also on two well known poems, *Campū-bhārata* of Anantabhaṭṭa and *Viśvaguṇādarśa* of Veṅkaṭa. He mentions in his comm, on the last-named poem a commentary by himself on Appayya's *Kuvalay°*, as well on Dhanañjaya. See Hultzsch i, p. xi.

(4) Comm. by Bahurūpa Miśra, for an account of which see V. Raghavan in *JOR*, Madras, viii, pp. 321-34. As Bahurūpa quotes from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśana* he must be later than 1250 A.D.

KUNTAKA

(1)

Kuntaka is better known in Alaṃkāra literature under the descriptive designation of the Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra[1] from the peculiar name of his work *Vakrokti-jīvita*, which itself is so called because of its central theory that *vakrokti* is the 'soul' or essence of poetry. The work had been known only through quotations and references until it was edited from two imperfect MSS by the present writer.

Kuntaka's date[2] is fixed approximately by his quotation from the dramatist Rājaśekhara, on the one hand, and by

1 Ruyyaka, ed. Kāvymālā p. 8. with Jayaratha (also pp. 12, 150 etc,) and Samudrabandha thereon (p. 4); Viśvanātha ed. Durgaprasad p. 14; *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana I. 1. 1, ed. Benares p. 6, etc.

2 This question has been dealt with in detail in the introd. to S. K. De's *editio princeps* of the *Vakrokti-jīvita*, and is only briefly referred to here.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's citation of Kuntaka and his work, on the other. Mahimabhaṭṭa flourished, as we shall see, towards the end of the 11th century. We may, therefore, place Kuntaka between the middle of the 10th and the middle of the 11th. As this date falls in with the known dates of Abhinavagupta (whose latest date is 1015 A.D.), we may take Kuntaka as a contemporary of this commentator on Ānandavardhana. Although Abhinava refers to various views about *vakrokti* held before his time, it is remarkable that he never alludes to the Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra who, as his title *rājānaka* indicates, was probably a Kashmirian, and whose work, if written before Abhinava's time, ought not to have been, from its important nature and content, thus entirely ignored by a rival theorist.

(2)

The first two and a part of the third chapter of the work, which have been published, give a general outline of Kuntaka's main theory ; but it is not known how many chapters his original treatise comprised. The fourth chapter in the Madras MS, however, which breaks off without completing the work, may be presumed to have formed its natural conclusion, inasmuch as it deals with the last variety of *vakratā* enumerated by the author. The running prose Vṛtti, accompanying the Kārikā-ślokas, and forming an integral part of the work itself, appears to have been composed by Kuntaka himself ; for not only the commentator expressly identifies himself with the author, but the citations of later writers[1] indicate that the Kārikās should be taken *en bloc* with the Vṛtti. Besides quotations from Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Anaṅgaharṣa (author of the *Tāpasa-vatsarāja*), Hāla, Bāṇa, Māgha, Bhāravi, Bhallaṭa, Amaru, Mayūra, Śrīharṣa, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Rājaśekhara, Kuntaka mentions by name Sarvasena, Mañjīra, Māyurāja, and the *Udātta-rāghava*,

1 Comm. to *Vyakti-viveka* p. 16 ; *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana p. 6, etc.

and quotes from Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa and the Dhvanikāra (=Ānandavardhana). The work stands unique for its exposition of the theory of *vakrokti*, which is apparently developed on the lines indicated by Bhāmaha,[1] as well as for its analysis of a poetic figure on its basis, which is implicitly accepted by all writers from Ruyyaka to Jagannātha.[2]

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KṢEMENDRA

(1)

The industrious Kashmirian polygrapher Kṣemendra, with the surname Vyāsadāsa, is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his two interesting treatises, *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* and *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* He refers to another work of his,[3] devoted to the treatment of poetic figures, entitled *Kavi-karṇikā.*

Kṣemendra himself gives us an indication of his date. The concluding verses of his two works, as well as of his *Suvṛtta-tilaka* (ed. Kāvymālā Gucchaka 2, 1886), state that he wrote in the reign of king Ananta of Kashmir, while the colophon to his *Samaya-mātṛkā* tells us that it was finished

1 For an exposition see S. K. De's Introd. to the 2nd ed. of Kuntaka's work. Generally speaking, Kuntaka's *Vakrokti* signifies a mode of expression, differing from and transcending the ordinary mode of speech, and resulting in a characteristic charmingness (*vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*), and depends on the imaginative activity of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā-nirvartitatva*).

2 See Jacobi, *Ueber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren* in *GN* 1908.

3 In *Aucit. vic. śl* 2.

in the reign of the same king in 1050 A. D. His *Daśāvatāra-carita*, on the other hand, is dated by himself in 1066 A. D., in the reign of Kalasa, son and successor of Ananta. Ananta reigned from 1028 to 1063 A. D. crowning his son Kalasa in 1063. Bühler[1] is right, therefore, in fixing the period of Kṣemendra's literary activity in the second and third quarters of the 11th century.[2]

(2)

Peterson proposed[3], against the opinion of Bühler, who appears to have left the question open, the identification of Kṣemendra with Kṣemarāja, the Śaiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was a pupil of Abhinavagupta, and who wrote, among numerous other works, a commentary on the *Śiva-sūtra* and on Abhinavagupta's *Paramārtha-sāra*. Stein supports this identification, but Peterson himself appears to admit later on[4] that his own theory is doubtful. In his *Aucitya-vicāra*, Kṣemendra pays homage to Acyuta or Viṣṇu ; but we know that he was, like his father, a Śaiva in his youth but was converted afterwards into Vaiṣṇavism, as he himself indicates, by Somācārya. This fact, as well as chronology, does not stand in the way of the proposed identification, but there

1 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 46.

2 Dhanika, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, appears to quote (on i. 61) two verses which occur in some MSS of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* (ii. 216, 217), and this fact apparently militates against this conclusion of Kṣemendra's date ; but we know that the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* was composed about 1037 A.D., and as the four lines in question occur in one of the MSS only, it is generally admitted now, for this and other reasons, that they are later interpolations. Kṣemendra (*Aucit. vic. ad śl.* 11. 16, 20) quotes Parimala (otherwise known as Padmagupta) who was a contemporary of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika.

3 i (*Detailed Report*), 1883, p. 11, 85 and Bühler in *IA* xiii, 1884, p. 29. Bühler really proposed the identification of Kṣemarāja, author of *Sāmba-pañcāśikā*, with Kṣemendra who wrote *Spanda-saṃdoha*, but distinguished both from the poet Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa (see *Kashmir Rep.* p. 81 and fn).

4 iv p. xxiii.

is no direct evidence to support it. Kṣemendra describes himself as son of Prakāśendra and grandson of Sindhu[1], and the name of his preceptor is given as Gaṅgaka.[2] He was also father of Somendra, and preceptor of Udayasiṃha and *rājaputra* Lakṣaṇāditya[3]. We know nothing, on the other hand, of Kṣemarāja's genealogy or personal history. But we are told at the end of the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* that Kṣemendra learnt *sāhitya* from Abhinavagupta, while Kṣemarāja at the end of his *Svacchandoddyota*[4] (as well as in the colophon to his *Stava-cintāmaṇi*) is described as *śiṣya* of the same great philosopher. It is worth noting, however, that while Kṣemendra's surname Vyāsadāsa[5] is given in all his works (with the exception of his *Kalā-vilāsa*), it does not occur in any of Kṣemarāja's philosophical treatises. Kṣemendra has taken care to let us know a great deal about himself, but Kṣemarāja always hides his light under a bushel and is apparently free from this trace of natural vanity. The question, therefore, cannot be taken as definitely settled, and can be satisfactorily solved when, as Bühler long ago pointed out[6], the name of Kṣemarāja's father is found.[7]

A list of Kṣemendra's numerous works is given below.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. Aucitya-vicāra-carcā

Editions. (1) Kāvyamālā Gucchaka i, 1886. (2) With comm. Sahṛdayatoṣiṇī of Śvetāraṇya-nārāyaṇa. Madras 1906. Our

1 Concluding verse of the *Daśāvatāra*.

2 *Aucit. vic.* under *śl.* 39. He quotes also Bhaṭṭa Tauta. Among other citations we find Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa, Gauḍa-kumbhakāra and *Kunteśvara-dautya* of Kālidāsa.

3 *Kavi-kaṇṭhā°* under v. i (pp. 138,139). Of his pupil Udayasiṃha Kṣemendra quotes *Lalitābhidhāna-mahākāvya*.

4 Bühler *op. cit.* App. ii p. clxix (extract).

5 Three stanzas are attributed to Vyāsadāsa in *Subhāṣ°* (460, 1658, 3039).

6 *IA* xiii, *loc. cit.*

7 For a brief résumé of Kṣemendra's two works, see below vol. ii, ch. ix (i); on his didactic and satiric works see S. K. De, *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, Calcutta 1947, pp. 404-10.

references are to the former. Also ed. Chowkhamba Sansk. Series, Benares 1933. For an account of the work, see Peterson in *JBRAS* xvi pp. 167-180, where all the quotations in the work are collected together and discussed.

b, Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa

Editions. (1) Kāvyamālā Gucchaka iv, 1887, 1899 (2) Chowkhamba Sansk. Series, Benares 1933. A monograph on the work with analysis and German translation by J. Schönberg, Wien 1884 (in *Sb. der Wiener Akad.*).

There is no trace of Kṣemendra's *Kavi-karṇikā.*

The Works of Kṣemendra. A list of the works of Kṣemendra, published and unpublished, is given here. Those which are quoted in *Aucitya-vicāra, Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Suvṛtta-tilaka* are marked respectively with the signs (A), (K) and (S).

1. Amṛta-taraṅga (or °turaṅga) (K). 2. Aucitya-vicāra. 3. Avasara-sāra (A). 4. Kanaka-jānakī (K). 5. Kalā-vilāsa (ed Kāvyamālā Gucchaka i). 6. Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa. 7. Kavi-karṇikā (A). 8. Kṣemendra-prakāśa (mentioned in *ABod* 38b). 9. Caturvarga-saṃgraha (A, K, and ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 5). 10. Cāru-caryā (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 2). 11. Citrabhārata-nāṭaka (A and K). 12. Darpa-dalaṇa (ed. Kāvyamāla Gucchaka 6, 1891). 13. Daśāvatāracarita-kāvya (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, 1891). 14. Deśopadeśa (K; ed. M. Kaul, Srinagar 1923). 15. Dāna-pārijāta. 16. Narma-mālā (ed. M. Kaul, Srinagar 1923). 17. Nīti-kalpataru (may be the same as Nīti-latā quoted in A). 18. Padya-kādambarī (K). 19. Pavana-pañcāśikā (S). 20. Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī (ed. Sivadatta and Parab, NSP 1901). 21. Bauddhāvadāna-kālpalatā (A; with its Tibetan version, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, 2 vols. Bibl. Ind. 1888-1918). 22. Bhārata-mañjarī (ed. Sivadatta and Parab, NSP 1898). 23. Muktāvali-kāvya (A and K). 24. Munimata-mīmāṃsā (A). 25. Rājāvali (mentioned in Kahlaṇa i. 13). 26. Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī (ed. Bhavadatta and Parab, NSP 1903). 27.

Lalitaratna-mālā. 28. Loka-prakāśa (Text in transliteration, *Ind. Stud.* xviii, 1898, pp. 298-412; J. Bloch with trans. notes etc. P. Geuthner, Paris 1914) (A). 29. Lāvaṇyavatī-kāvya (A and K). 30. Vātsyāyana-sūtra-sāra (A and quoted in the *Pañca-sāyaka*). 31. Vinaya-vallī (A). 32. Vetāla-pañca-viṃśati (from the Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī, ed. H. Uhle, München 1924). 33. Vyāsāṣṭaka mentioned in Bühler's *Kashmir Report* (1877) no. 154; see p. 45-46. 34. Śaśivaṃśa-mahākāvya (K). 35. Samaya-mātṛkā (ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, NSP 1888). 36. Suvṛtta-tilaka (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 2; also ed. Chowkhamba Skt. Series 1933. 37. Sevya-sevakopadeśa (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 2). The Hastijanaprakāśa mentioned by Schönberg and Peterson is by Kṣemendra, son of Yadu Śarman (see Kāvyamālā p. 115 fn and Aufrecht i. 765). The Navaucitya-vicāra in Schönberg is probably the same work as *Aucitya-vicāra*. The *Kalā-vilāsa* has been translated into German by R. Schmidt in *WZKM* xxviii, 1914, p. 406-35; the *Darpa-dalana* by the same in *ZDMG* lxix, 1915, pp. 1-51 (also ed. and transl. by B. A. Hirszbant, St. Petersberg 1892); Samaya-mātṛkā, trs. by J. J. Meyer, Leipzig 1903. Parts of *Bṛhatkatha-mañjarī* has been translated by Sylvain Lêvi (1st Lambhaka with text in Roman) in *JA* vi, 1885, pp. 397-479; by Leo v. Mankowski (Pañcatantra, with text in Roman), Leipzig 1892.

BHOJA

(1)

The earliest writer on Poetics who quotes Bhoja seems to be Hemacandra[1] who flourished, as we shall see, in the first half of the 12th century; while Vardhamāna, who however did not write till 1140 A.D., mentions Bhoja in the second verse of his *Gaṇa-ratna*, the Vṛtti on which explains this Bhoja as the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. The latest writer quoted by Bhoja appears to be Rājaśekhara[2],

1 p. 295 Comm., besides anonymous quotations.

2 From *Karpūra-mañj°*, *Bāla-bhā°*, and *Viddhaśāla°*. See Sten

whose latest date is the beginning of the 10th century, although some verses from the *Caura-pañcāśikā* (no. 12, ed. Bohlen), attributed to Bihlaṇa, occur in the *Sarasvatī-k°* (*ad* i. 152)[1]. Bhoja appears also to refer in one verse (*ad* i. 71, p. 22) to Muñja, apparently Muñja-vākpatirāja of Mālava. Jacob[2] is misleading in putting down the name of Nami-sādhu (who did not write his commentary on Rudraṭa till 1069 A.D.) in the list of authors quoted by Bhoja ; for the verses in question, though found in Nami, are not Nami's own but really quoted by him from previous authors[3]. Bhoja also quotes about sixteen times several verses occurring in *Daśa-rūpaka* and its commentary[4], which belong to the time of Muñja, i.e. the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, places the author of the *Sarasvatī-k°* in the period between the

Konow's ed. of *Karpūra-mañj°* pp. 198 f., for the quotations ; also Jacob *JRAS*, 1897, p. 304f.

1 We have not based any chronological inference on this, because Bihlaṇa's authorship of the work is not beyond question, and Solf tries to demonstrate the existence of a poet called Cora or Caura, whose date is not known.

2 *op. cit.* p. 304.

3 For instance, the verse *ayaṃ padmāsanāsīna°* (Bhoja *ad* i. 51, p. 15) is found, no doubt, in Nami on xi. 24, but it is really a quotation, along with several other verses in the same context, from Bhāmaha ii. 55. Similarly the two verses *sa marutā* and *sa pītavāsā*, quoted by Bhāmaha himself (ii. 41, 58) from some previous authors (one of whose names is given as Rāmaśarman) occur in Bhoja anonymously (*ad* i. 121 pp. 43, 44), but they are also quoted by Nami in the same context. There is no reason to suppose that Bhoja took these verses from Nami's Comm. instead of going directly to Bhāmaha, from whom he quotes several other verses directly (e.g. *ākrośan nāhvayan*, Bhoja *ad* iii. 8, p. 144=Bhāmaha ii. 94 ; Bhāmaha ii. 92=Bhoja *ad* iv. 51, p. 226-7= *Subhāṣ°* 1645 *bhāmahasya*). Similar remarks apply to the other supposed quotations given by Jacob, whose mistake is probably due to the fact that Bhāmaha's text was not available to him.

4 One verse under *Daśa-rūpaka* iv. 66 (*lakṣmī-payodharotsaṅga-*) which Dhanika quotes as his own (*yathā mamaiva*) is quoted by Bhoja as example of Anyokti (*S. K.* iv).

second and the fourth quarters of the 11th century; and as this date fits in easily with the known date of the ninth Paramāra ruler Bhoja of Dhārā, one of the well-known princes of the 11th century, noted for his patronage of letters, the two may be taken to have been reasonably identified. Our Bhoja is frequently cited in later Alaṃkāra literature as Bhojarāja, and sometimes simply as *rājan*[1] which designation, like that of *muni* applied to Bharata, seems to mark him out *par excellence* in this literature.

(2)

Kahlaṇa states (vii. 259)[2] that king Bhoja of Dhārā was the true friend of poets; and it is possible that he had himself literary predilections. He was son and successor of Sindhurāja and nephew of Muñja-vākpatirāja who was also, as we have seen, a great patron of letters. The date of Bhoja is well known from his own and other inscriptions[3]. Alberuni[4] mentions him as still reigning in 1030 A.D., while the date Śaka 964= 1042 A.D. is given by the *Rājamṛgāṅka* which is attributed to Bhoja. We know also that he fought with Cālukya Jayasiṃha III between 1011 and 1019 A.D., and with the latter's successor Someśvara (1042-1066 A.D.) who, according to Bihlaṇa, took Dhārā by storm and forced Bhoja to flee. Bihlaṇa himself speaks of Bhoja as of a contemporary 'whom he did not visit though he might have done so'[5]. In

1 e.g. Vidyādhara pp. 98, 150, 192, 287, 304, and Mallinātha pp. 287, 304 etc.

2 *sa ca bhoja-narendraś ca dānotkarṣeṇa viśrutau/sūrī tasmin kṣaṇe tulyaṃ dvāvāstāṃ kavi-bāndhavau.*

3 *IA* vi, p. 53f (Ujjain Plate, 1021-22 A.D.); *EI* i, p. 230-33; *EI* ix, p. 182 (Banswara Plate, 1020 A.D); *EI* xviii, p. 320 (Betma Plate, 1020 A.D.); the Sarasvati Image Inscription in the Br. Museum (*Rupam*, 1924, p. 18; 1033 A.D.); Tilakwada Copper plate (*Proc. of the 1st Orient. Conf.* p. 319; 1047 A.D.) etc.

4 ed. Sachau i. 191. According to Merutuṅga, Bhoja succeeded Muñja in Saṃvat 1078=1022 A.D. See, however, Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1882-83, pp. 44-45.

5 Bühler's ed. *Vikramāṅka°* p. 23 fn; also text xviii. 96.

Kahlaṇa's assertion, referred to above, with respect to Bhoja and Kṣitirāja, the phrase *tasmin kṣaṇe* is taken by Bühler to refer to the period when, after the nominal coronation of Kalasa in 1062 A.D., Kṣitirāja became a *saṃnyāsin* and sometimes visited king Ananta in order to console him. If this interpretation is correct, we get a limit to Bhoja's date at 1062 A.D. A copper-plate of his successor Jaysiṃha[1], however, is dated 1055 A.D., and throws doubt on Bühler's conjecture. All this, however, will justify us in fixing Bhoja's date with great probability between 1010 and 1055 A.D.; i.e., roughly covering a part of the first and whole of the second quarter of the 11th century, and he may have lived into the third quarter of the same century. The exact dates of his accession and death are unknown ; but it seems that he died after long illness, in the midst of wars with Bhīma, king of Gujarat and with Kalacuri Karṇa, king of Tripurī[2].

(3)

Besides his well-known *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Bhoja appears also to have written a work called *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*[3], a MS of which exists in the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras[4]. It is composed in 36 *prakāśas*[5], and is described as the largest known work in Sanskrit Poetics. It deals with both Poetics and Dramaturgy. The first eight

1 *EI* iii, pp. 46-50 (Mandhata Plate).

2 *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, Tawney's trs. p. 4.

3 This work is mentioned by Vidyādhara p. 98 ; by Kumārasvāmin p. 114, 221 ; by Rāyamukuṭa and Sarvānanda on Amara ; by Hemādri on *Raghu* etc.

4 Mentioned in the *Rep. of the Working of the Peripatetic Party* of the Library, 1916-19. The work has not yet been published, except three Prakāśas (22-24) by Yadugiri Yatiraj of Melcote (Mysore 1926) and extracts given by V. Raghavan in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (i, pt. 2, pp. 513-42). But V. Raghavan has made a detailed study of the work in the work cited (vol. i, pt 1 and ii, Bomby 1940, pp. 1-542).

5 The whole of ch. xxvi is missing, as also the end of ch. xxv and beginning of ch. xxvii, besides smaller gaps.

chapters are devoted to the quasi-grammatical question relating to word and its sense as the means of expression, and the theory of *vṛtti*. The ninth and the tenth chapters describe the blemishes and excellences of expression (*doṣa* and *guṇa*); while the eleventh and twelfth chapters deal respectively with the Mahākāvya and the drama. The next twenty-four chapters treat exclusively of the Rasas, of which the Śṛṅgāra or love in its various aspects (in relation to the four Puruṣārthas, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa) is maintained, in the light of his novel theory of one Rasa of Ahaṃkāra-Abhimāna-Śṛṅgāra, to be the principal and essential; and the work derives its name from Bhoja's theory that Śṛṅgāra is the only one Rasa admissible[1]. As in the *Sarasvatī-k°*, this work, in the manner of a cyclopaedic compilation, gives a large number of quotations to illustrate the rules and principles laid down. Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśana*, which deals with the same subject, constitutes really a summary of the important chapters of Bhoja.

(4)

The *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, consisting of five Paricchedas, is not a very original work, but consists chiefly of a patient compilation in an encyclopaedic manner from earlier treatises, especially from Daṇḍin, from whom he takes, according to the calculation of Jacob[2], no less than 164 illustrations. From the index of citations given by Jacob, we find that Vāmana is quoted 22 times, Rudraṭa 19 times, the *Dhvanyāloka* more than 10 times (six of the *kārikās* being reproduced), while it is curious to note that Bhoja makes a good use

1 Cf Vidyādhara *rājā tu śṛṅgāram ekam eva śṛṅgāra-prakāśe rasam urarīcakāra* p. 98; Kumārasvāmin p. 221 *śṛṅgāra eka eva rasa iti śṛṅgāra-prakāśa-kāraḥ*. For a brief résumé of the work see below under vol. ii, ch. 6.—Bhoja in four chapters (xviii-xxi) deals with what he calls Dharma-śṛṅgāra, Artha-śṛṅgāra, Kāma-śṛṅgāra and Mokṣa-śṛṅgāra. But he devotes 16 chapters (xxii-xxvi) entirely to what may be called Laukika Śṛṅgāra in its Saṃbhoga and Vipralambha aspects.

2 *loc. cit.*

of Bhaṭṭi's illustrations of the figure *yamaka* and its numerous subspecies. After dealing with general topics of Poetics, the work speaks somewhat symmetrically of 16 Doṣas respectively of Pada, Vākya and Vākyārtha, and 24 Guṇas respectively of Śabda and Vākyārtha. In the second and third chapter 24 Śabdālaṃkāras and Arthālaṃkāras respectively are defined and illustrated. In the fourth chapter 24 Śabdārthālaṃkāras are similarly dealt with. It is noteworthy that the Rītis, mentioned as six in number, are regarded as Śabdārthālaṃkāras. In the fifth chapter we have a treatment of Rasas, Bhāvas, Nāyaka-nāyikā, the five Saṃdhis, and four Vṛttis, etc. While the chief value of Bhoja's work consists in its abundant wealth of illustrations and examples, numbering more than 1500, to every rule and prescription, it is nevertheless interesting as embodying, in the main, a tradition of opinion, which is also represented in the *Agni-purāṇa*, but which in many respects stands apart from the orthodox Kashmirian school.

Bhoja is credited with having composed more than 80 works, most of which are voluminous. His work on Grammar (ed. Madras Univ. 1937 ; also ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series, with Hṛdayahāriṇī Comm. of Nārāyaṇa Daṇḍanātha, 1935-48) is also called *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

(5)

The commentators on Bhoja, as noted below, are numerous, but they are not of much importance. Ratneśvara's commentary has been published several times together with the text, but so far only three chapters of it have been printed.

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of Ratneśvara (on i-iii) and of Jagaddhara (on iv), Bombay 1925, 1934. Our references are to ed. Boorah 1884.

Commentaries. (1) *Ratna-darpaṇa* by Miśra Ratneśvara. Ed. with the text by Jivananda, Calcutta 1894 ; ed. Benares and ed. NSP, as above. The nominal author Rāmasiṃha-deva, mentioned in the introductory stanza 2, is apparently the author's patron. In the colophon, the author's name is given as Miśra Ratneśvara ; and in Benares ed. of the text, the commentary is said to have been written at the command of Rāmasiṃha-deva (of Tirhut?). In the Catalogues, the work is sometimes inaccurately given as by Rāmasiṃha-deva. The author refers to a comm. on the *Kāv. prak.* by himself. Only the first three chapters of this *Ratna-darpaṇa* have been published in the editions noted ; and both the Madras and Bodleian MSS contain these chapters only. Ratneśvara appears to have flourished in the 14th century A.D. (2) °*Mārjanā* by Harinātha, mentioned by himself in his Comm. on Daṇḍin (*A Bod* 206b). See above p. 70. (3) *Duṣkara-citra-prakāśikā* by Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa. He may be identical with Lakṣmī-nātha who, according to Kielhorn *Report* 1880 81 p. 71, wrote his *Piṅgala-pradīpa* in 1601 A.D. Kielhorn's MS of this latter work appears to have been copied in 1660, while Burnell's (*Piṅgalārtha-dīpikā* pp. 53b, 175b) in 1632 A.D. (4) °*Ṭīkā* by Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara and Damayantī. Extract given in *Ulwar Cat.* 1086 and Stein p. 275. The printed portion of the Comm. in the NSP ed. is on the 4th chapter. This work is probably earlier than the 17th century but later than the 14th (see Bhandarkar. Pref. to *Mālatī-mādhava* pp. xviii-xxi). Jagad-dhara's genealogy is given thus: Caṇḍeśvara→Vedeśvara (or Vedadhara)→Rāmadhara (Rāmeśvara)→Gadādhara→ Vidyādhara→Ratnadhara→Jagaddhara. He wrote several commentaries (Aufrecht i. 195) e.g. on the *Megha-dūta*, *Vāsavadattā*, *Veṇī-saṃhāra*, *Mālatī-mādhava* etc. MS in

Stein (p. 276) is dated Śaka 1521 = 1460 A.D. (5) Comm. by Harikṛṣṇa Vyāsa. *SCB* 34.

b. *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*

The only known MS is in the Government Oriental MSS Library, Madras, mentioned in their *Report* quoted above. The work has not yet been published except in parts ; see above p. 136.

Of other published works bearing the name of Bhoja, the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* (ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, 2 vols. GOS, Baroda 1924, 1925) deals chiefly with architecture and iconography ; the *Yukti-kalpataru* (ed. Isvara Chandra Sastri, Calcutta 1917) with Nīti-śāstra ; the *Tattava-prakāsa*, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, with Tātparya-dīpikā comm. of Śrīkumāra, Trivandrum Skt. Series 1920 ; trs. E. P. Janvier in *IA* liv, 1925, pp. 151-56) with religio-philosophical topics ; while the *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa* commentary on the *Yoga-sūtra* (ed. Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1883 ; ed. Chowkhamba Skt. Series, along with the text and five other comm. Benares 1930; ed Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta 1903 ; trs. Ganganath Jha, Bombay 1907) is devoted to an exposition of the Yoga philosophy.

MAHIMABHAṬṬA

(1)

Rājānaka Mahiman, Mahimaka or Mahimabhaṭṭa, who is cited generally as the Vyaktiviveka-kāra[1] from the name of his work, was, as indicated by his title, probably a Kashmirian writer, who describes himself as son of Śrī-Dhairya and disciple of *mahākavi* Śyāmala. He informs us at the outset of his work (i. 3) that his principal object is to consider the views of the Dhvanikāra ; and as in the course of his discourse he examines the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, quoting

1 Viśvanātha, ed. Durgaprasad, NSP., 1915, p. 18, 249 ; Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii. 21 ; Ruyyaka, ed. NSP., p. 12 ; Keśava Miśra p. 80-81 ; Jagannātha p. 13 etc. Keśava mentions his name as Mahiman.

from the Kārikā and the Vṛtti with a minuteness which cannot be mistaken, we may infer with certainty that he was later than Ānandavardhana[1]. It is also probable that Mahimabhaṭṭa was later than Ānandavardhana's commentator, Abhinavagupta ; for in some places he betrays an acquaintance with the latter's work. At p. 19, for instance, Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes directly a long passage from the *Locana* (p. 33), and shows himself alive to the point involved in Abhinava's discussion by criticising it. The passage refers to *Dhvanyāloka* i. 13 where the Dhvanikāra uses the verb *vyaṅktaḥ* in the dual number with the express purpose, as Abhinava explains, of indicating a duality of sense. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka appears to have taken exception to this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinava concludes by remarking: *tena yad bhaṭṭa-nāyakena dvi-vacanaṃ dūṣitaṃ tad gaja-nimīlikayaiva.* Mahimabhaṭṭa, referring to this discussion, quotes anonymously the remarks of Abhinava (not only the aboveline but the whole passage), with the statement: *kecid vimāninaḥ...yad āhus tad bhrānti-mūlam* (p. 19). The terms of reference apparently indicate, as Narasiṃha Iyengar rightly points out,[2] that Mahimabhaṭṭa is here referring clearly to Abhinava as a theorist of a rival system who, if not contemporaneous, could not have flourished long before his own time. It should be noted that Mahimabhaṭṭa quotes and criticises (p. 28) certain views set forth by Kuntaka in his *Vakrokti-jīvita* (i. 7-8) and attempts to show that Vakrokti, like Dhvani, is to be included under Anumāna. He also quotes from Rājaśekhara's *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* (pp. 40, 50) and *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (p. 85). This gives us one terminus to Mahimabhaṭṭa's date. On the other hand, Ruyyaka who, as we shall see, flourished in the first half of the 12th century and probably also wrote the anonymous commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa (printed in the Trivandrum edition of the text), is the

1 Cf Jayaratha p. 12 ; *dhvanikārāntarabhāvī vyaktivivekakāra iti*, the Dhvanikāra being, to Jayaratha, Ānandavardhana himself.

2 *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 65f.

earliest writer to quote and criticise Mahimabhaṭṭa.[1] We may, therefore, assign Mahimabhaṭṭa to the period between Abhinava and Ruyyaka, i.e later than the first quarter of the 11th but earlier than the first quarter of the 12th century, and approximately fix his date towards the last half or the end of the 11th century. This date will be in harmony with the probable date of Śyāmala, who is mentioned by Mahimabhaṭṭa as his preceptor, if this Śyāmala is the same poet as is quoted by Kṣemendra.[2]

(2)

It is difficult to determine what relation Mahimabhaṭṭa bore to Śaṅkuka who was also, like Mahimabhaṭṭa, an *anumiti-vādin*[3] in his theory of Rasa, for Śaṅkuka's work has not yet been recovered. Our author claims for himself originality

1 Iyengar (*op. cit.*) and Harichand (*op. cit.* p. 105) think that Mahimabhaṭṭa is "quoted or criticised" by Mammaṭa ; but, as *Kāv. prak.* v, p. 252 (B. S. S. 1917) shows, Mammaṭa does not at all cite Mahimabhaṭṭa or his work, but only criticises an *anumāna*-theory which tries to explain the concept of *dhvani* by means of inference. No chronological conclusion can be based on this ; for Ānandavardhana also refers to a similar theory long before Mahimabhaṭṭa wrote.

2 *Aucit. vic. ad śl.* 16 ; *Suvṛtta. til. ad* ii. 31. Also *Subhāṣ°* 2292. Kṣemendra's Śyāmala appears to be identical with Śyāmilaka, who wrote the Bhāṇa entitled *Pāda-tāḍitaka* (ed. Ramakrishna Kavi and Ramanatha Sastri, Madras 1922) ; for the verses, attributed to Śyāmala in the two works of Kṣemendra noted above, occur as *śl.* 33 and 125 respectively in the printed text of the Bhāṇa. The colophon describes the author of the Bhāṇa as son of Viśveśvaradatta and an *udīcya* (northerner), which makes it probable that he is the Kashmirian Śyāmala, Śyāmalaka or Śyāmilaka, also cited by Abhinavagupta. Both Abhinava and Kuntaka quote anonymously verses from this Bhāṇa. The verse ascribed to Śyāmalaka in the *Subhāṣ°* (*prāyaścittaṃ mṛgayate yaḥ priyā-pāda-tāḍitaḥ / kṣālanīyaṃ śiras tasya kāntā-gaṇḍūṣa-śīdhubhiḥ*) refers unmistakably to this Bhāṇa and the second line occurs in a slightly modified form in the Bhāṇa itself (*ad śl.* 132). Rājaśekhara cites a Śyāmadeva (pp. 11, 13, 17).

3 He is so called by Mallinātha (*Taralā* p. 85) and Kumārasvāmin (p. 219).

of treatment and freedom from slavish imitation,[1] and his omission of all references to his predecessor need not, therefore, appear strange. The only testimony of Rāmacaraṇa, an 18th century Bengal commentator on Viśvanātha,[2] need not be seriously considered; but it is probable that the theory developed by Mahima did not originate in himself. Ānandavardhana refutes at some length some theory of *anumāna* (pp. 201f) which attempted to explain that the suggested sense, posited by the *dhvani*-theory, can be arrived at by the process of logical inference. Mahimabhaṭṭa himself gives Antara-ślokas or Antarāyās (besides Saṃgraha-ślokas summarising a discussion), which add to the discussion and are probably adduced from extenal sources, indicating previous exposition of similar topics by other writers. Thus, Mahimabhaṭṭa probably worked out systematically some such thesis (anticipated, it may be, by Ānandavardhana), as a direct rejoinder to Ānanda's classical exposition; but there is no evidence to connect him with the theory accredited to Śaṅkuka by Abhinavagupta and others.

The *Vyakti-viveka*, consisting of three Vīmarśas, is essentially a vigorous piece of polemic writing, which does not propose to set forth any new theory or system, but whose only object is to demolish the theory of Dhvani by shewing that the so-called function of Vyañjanā posited by Ānandavardhana is nothing more than the already recognised process of Anumāna or logical inference. In the first Vimarśa he states and amplifies his own position by criticizing the definition of Dhvani. In the second Vimarśa he considers the question of Aucitya, relating to Śabda and Artha. In the third Vimarśa about forty examples are cited from the *Dhvanyā-loka* and shewn to be really cases of Anumāna and not of Vyañjanā.[3]

1 He says, for instance, that he has written his work without looking into *Candrikā* and *Darpaṇa*, which apparently had the same object in view as the demolition of the *dhvani*-theory (i. 4, 5).

2 ed. Durgaprasad p. 248, ed. Röer p. 121 note: *śaṅkuka-matānuyāyināṃ vyaktiviveka-kārādīnāṃ mataṃ dūṣayati.*

3 Mahimabhaṭṭa's views will be considered in detail below in vol. ii.

(3)

From the *Vyakti-viveka* itself (p. 108) we learn that Mahimabhaṭṭa also wrote a work entitled *Tattvokti-kośa*, where he is said to have discussed what he calls *pratibhā-tattva*[1], in connexion with the poetic conception of an idea.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's work which recognised the new concept of *dhvani*, but tried to explain it by the established process of *anumāna* (and not by the separate function of *vyañjanā* explained by Ānandavardhana), never found any recognition in the hands of later theorists, most of whom became partisans of the latter. Even his commentator does not appear to possess much sympathy for his somewhat extreme view,[2] and Mahimabhaṭṭa is rather unique in having no followers in later literature.

The commentator referred to has been identified with some reason[3] with Ruyyaka, who has another commentary on Mammaṭa to his credit, as well as several independent works on Alaṃkāra. We shall deal with him hereafter as an independent writer on Alaṃkāra.

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1 Cf Jacobi *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv. 225 fn.

2 Mahimabhaṭṭa's views are vigorously criticised by Ruyyaka (*Alaṃ. sarvasva*, pp. 12f), and Viśvanātha (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, p. 248f).

3 For the arguments summarised see Kane, *HSP*, p. 245.

CHAPTER VI

MAMMAṬA AND ALLAṬA

(1)

A great deal of uncertainty exists with regard to the exact date of Mammaṭa whose name,[1] as well as the title *rājānaka*, indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. The story relied upon by Hall[2] and Weber[3] that Mammaṭa was the maternal uncle of the author of *Naiṣadha* may be relegated to the region of fantastic fables which often gather round celebrated names. The lower limit of Mammaṭa's date, however, may be fixed with reference to one dated MS[4] and two commentaries on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, of which the date can be ascertained. The commentary of Māṇikyacandra is expressly dated in Śaṃvat 1216=1159-60 A. D. The exact

1 Aufrecht (i. 432) notes that Mammaṭa's original name was Mahimabhaṭṭa on the mistaken authority of Keśava Miśra's erroneous citation (p. 80-81). The passage in which Keśava cites Mahimabhaṭṭa clearly refers not to Mammaṭa but to Mahimabhaṭṭa, author of the *Vyakti-viveka*, mentioned in the same context. The verse *anaucityād ṛte*, however, which is thus quoted and attributed to Mahiman by Keśava, occurs originally in the Vṛtti of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 145) from which apparently it is also cited in the *Vyakti-viveka* (pp. 31, 114) with a *sa evāha*, along with many other verses similarly quoted from the same text. Keśava might have taken the verse directly from *Vyakti-viveka's* citation, without knowing the original source, and wrongly attributed it to Mahiman himself. It does not occur at all in the *Kāv. prak.* Aufrecht's suggestion, therefore, that Mammaṭa is a corruption of the name Mahimabhaṭṭa, like his other supposition that the name Rudrabhaṭṭa yields Rudraṭa, is unwarranted. Cf Peterson ii p. 19.

2 Introd. to *Vāsavadattā* p. 55.

3 *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* (Eng. trans, 2nd ed.), p. 232 fn.

4 A Jesalmere Jaina Bhandar MS of *Kav. prak.* appears to have been copied in Saṃvat 1215 Āśvina 14 (=1158 A.D. Oct. 8) at Anahilapātaka while Kumārapāla was still ruling. It is noteworthy that the

date of Ruyyaka's commentary is not known, but we know from other sources that Ruyyaka flourished in the second and third quarters of the 12th century. The earliest dated MS from Jesalmere appears to have been copied in 1158 A.D. Mammaṭa, therefore, cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 12th century.[1]

The other limit cannot be settled so satisfactorily. It has been maintained that Mammaṭa in one verse (*bhoja-nṛpates tat-tyāga-līlāyitam* under x. 26b ; B. S. S. ed. 1917, p. 684) eulogises Bhoja with whom he may be presumed to have been contemporaneous. This is sought to be supported by

colophon states that it is the joint work of Mammaṭa and Alaka (*kṛtī mammaṭālakayoḥ*). See P. K. Gode in *JOR*, xiii, p. 46-53 (=his *Studies in Ind. Lit. Hist.* i, p. 235f.)

1 Jhalakikara maintains, on the authority of Paramānanda Cakravartin and Nāgojī on Mammaṭa, that Mammaṭa in several places criticises Ruyyaka, who therefore must be placed earlier than Mammaṭa. But the passages he cites do not support his contention. Thus, the verse *rājati taṭīyam* (*Kāv. prak.* p. 758) is supposed to be directed against Ruyyaka p. 199. where the same verse is quoted in the same context. It appears, however, that Mammaṭa gives this verse as an instance of *śabdālaṃkāra-saṃkara* without any comment but with the simple statement that here we have a commixture of *yamaka* and *anuloma-pratiloma-citra* dependent on one another. Ruyyaka, on the other hand, citing the same verse and referring to the opinions of "other authors" comments on it at some length. He remarks that though the verse is given by some as an example of *śabdālaṃkāra-saṃkara,* such commixture of *śabdālaṃkāras*, in his opinion, is not possible, and the example is faulty. The verse itself occurs in Ratnākara's *Hara-vijaya* (v. 137). Jayaratha and Samudrabandha also remark in this connexion that the anonymous authors, referred to by Ruyyaka in his criticism, allude to "Mammaṭa and others." Besides, Ruyyaka himself quotes (p. 102) Mammaṭa's Kārikā iv. 15-16. Jayaratha expressly says that Ruyyaka wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa called *Kāvyaprakāśa-saṃketa* (p. 102). In several other places, both Jayaratha and Samudrabandha point out that Ruyyaka is criticising Mammaṭa (e.g. Jayaratha pp 77, 102, 107, 150, 163, 199, 204 ; Samudrabandha pp. 23, 25, 119, 156, 243, 249, etc.).

the story, related by a very late commentator Bhīmasena,[1] that Mammaṭa was the son of Jayyaṭa and had two brothers Kayyaṭa and Uvvaṭa, of whom Uvvaṭa (or Uvaṭa) is taken to be the well known commentator on Vedic works, some of which, as he himself tells us, were composed in Avanti while Bhoja was still reigning (*bhoje rājyaṃ praśāsati*). It is suggested on this ground that Uvvaṭa was probably the medium of the quotation referred to above relating to his royal patron ; or, assuming it to have been composed by Mammaṭa himself, it might have obtained for its author an introduction into the munificent court of Bhoja[2]. But this theory is untenable ; for Uvvaṭa tells us that his father's name was Vajraṭa and not Jayyaṭa ; and it is not clear that the stanza in question, given anonymously as an instance of the figure *udātta* (which consists of a description of the wealth and prosperity of an exalted personage) was composed by Mammaṭa himself, who certainly borrows similar illustrative verses from various sources. All that this anonymous verse may be taken to establish is that its allusion to king Bhoja indicates that Mammaṭa was probably not earlier than Bhoja.

We may, therefore, place Mammaṭa between Ruyyaka on the one hand and Bhoja on the other, if we may assume, on the authority of the commentators, the identity of this Bhoja with the Paramāra Bhoja of Dhārā, the reputed author of the *Sārasvatī-k*°. In other words, Mammaṭa probably belongs to the period between the middle of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. Allowing two generations to intervene between him and Ruyyaka, we may assign Mammaṭa's literary activity roughly to the last quarter of the 11th century. Mammaṭa mentions Abhinavagupta who was still living in 1015 A.D. (see above), and quotes anonymously (under x. 131,

1 Introd. to ed. *Kāv-prak*. in B.S.S (3rd. ed. 1917) pp. 6-7: also extract in Peterson i, p. 94.

2 Ganganatha Jha in his introd. to his trans. of *Kāv. prak*. pp. vi-vii.

purāṇi yasyām) from *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* (canto i), which was composed about 1005 A. D.

(2)

Although well-known for his *Kāvya-prakāśa*, which helped to establish finally and exclusively the doctrines of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa is also the author of a less known work entitled the *Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya* which, as its name implies, is a short dissertation on the expressive functions (Vṛtti) of words, a topic which he discusses also in the second Ullāsa of *Kav. prāk.* Mammaṭa, like most writers on Poetics, was also well-versed in the allied science of grammar, proficiency in which he also displays in the larger work.[1]

On a summary examination of the contents of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*,[2] it will appear that the work is carefully planned and systematically worked out. Peterson, however, on the indication given in Rājānaka Ānanda's *Nidarśana*[3] commentary, first called in question the unity of

1 A work on music called *Saṃgīta-ratnāvalī* is attributed to Mammaṭa by Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva in his *Saṃgīta-Nārāyaṇa* (see V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35), p. 131 ; and references therein).

2 The *Kāvya-prakāśa*, in ten Ullāsas, consists of Kārikā, Vṛtti and illustrations. The topics in brief are: I. Purpose, source and definition of Kāvya, and its division into Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. II. Explanation of Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā, and subdivisions of Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā. III. Vyañjakatva of all kinds of senses. IV. Division of Dhvani into Avivakṣita-vācya and Vivakṣitānyapara-vācya. Nature of Rasa. V. Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya and its eight subdivisions. VI. Citra-kāvya. VII. Doṣas of Pada, Vākya, Artha and of Rasa. How a Doṣa may become charming. VIII. Distinction of Guṇa and Alaṃkāra. Only three Guṇas (Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda) admitted. Combination of letters conducive to Guṇas. IX. Figures of Śabda. Vakrokti (of Śleṣa and Kāku), Anuprāsa (Cheka-, Vṛtti- and Lāṭa-), Yamaka and its varieties, Śleṣa, Citra and Punar-uktavadābhāsa. Figures of Artha, enumerated and defined as 61.

3 The name of this comm. is *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana* as well as *Kāvyaprakāśa-nidarśana*.

the work, although his first erroneous impression[1], corrected afterwards by himself[2], was that the Kārikā-text was composed by Mammaṭa, while the running prose Vṛtti was added by some other hand. There is enough evidence now to show that Mammaṭa composed nearly the whole work (Kārikā and Vṛtti), and only a small portion of the last chapter, left incomplete by him, was completed by another author, whose name is given by Ānanda as Alaṭa or Alaka. That the fact of joint-authorship is skilfully concealed is supposed to be alluded to in the last verse, given in some of the MSS[3], which apparently says that "this way of the learned, though different yet appearing identical, is not strange, for here the only cause is a properly constructed (plan of) combination." This may be explained, no doubt, as meaning that the author here claims the credit of having skilfully removed, in his systematic work, all conflict of opinions held by different authors on Poetics ; but most commentators agree in finding here a hint implying that the work left incomplete by Mammaṭa was completed by some other person, and the traces of joint-authorship are ingeniously obliterated. Māṇikyacandra Sūri, one of the earliest commentators, comments on this verse ; *atha cāyaṃ grantho'nyenārabdho'pareṇa ca samarthita iti dvi-khaṇḍo'pi saṃghaṭanā-vaśād akhaṇḍāyate.* Ruyyaka remarks in his *Saṃketa* commentary : *eṣa grantho granthakṛtānena katham apy asamāptatvād apareṇa ca pūritāvaśeṣatvād dvi-khaṇḍo'py akhaṇḍatayā yad avabhāsate tatra saṃghaṭanaiva hetuḥ.* In this view Ruyyaka is followed by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, Someśvara, Narahari Sarasvatītīrtha, Kamalākara, Ānanda, Jajñeśvara and other early as well as late commentators on Mammaṭa. Rājānaka Ānanda, however, is more

1 *Rep.* i p. 21 f.

2 *Rep.* ii p. 13 f. Cf Bühler in *IA* xiii p. 30.

3 *ity eṣa mārgo viduṣāṃ vibhinno'/ pyabhinna-rūpaḥ pratibhāsate yat/ na tad vicitraṃ yad amutra samyag/ vinirmitā saṃghaṭanaiva hetuḥ.*

explicit and quotes a traditional verse[1] in his *Nidarśana* commentary to show that Mammaṭa composed the work up to the treatment of the figure *parikara* (x. 32), while the rest, consisting of a small portion of the concluding chapter, was completed by Alaka, Alaṭa or Allaṭa[2].

This statement about the joint-authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* receives confirmation from an independent source. Commenting on *Amaru-śataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā 18, 1916, *śl.* 30), Arjunavarman, who flourished in the first quarter of the 13th century, quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa* under vii. 14 (the verse *prasāde vartasva*[3] cited therein) with the remark: *yathodāhṛtaṃ doṣa-nirṇaye mammaṭālakābhyām.* In the same chapter on Doṣa in the *Kāvya-prakāśa,* Amaru 72 is quoted as instancing the fault technically known as *jugupsā-ślīla* (vulgarity causing disgust), because the word *vāyu* in the verse is supposed to connote vulgar associations. Arjuna-varman defends Amaru from this fastidious criticism with the pointed remark: *kiṃ tu hlādaikamayī-vara-labda-prasādau kāvyaprakāśa-kārau prāyeṇa doṣa-dṛṣṭī, yenaivaṃvidheṣvapi paramārtha-sahṛdayānanda-padeṣu sarasa-kavi-saṃdarbheṣu doṣam eva sākṣāt akurutām.* Both these passages, which mention the dual authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa,* refer in particular to ch. vii where the *doṣas* or faults of composition are discussed. Unless the remarks be taken to imply a general

1 *kṛtaḥ śrī-mammaṭācārya-varyaiḥ parikarāvadhiḥ| prabandhaḥ pūritaḥ śeṣo vidhāyālaṭa- (°laka* or *°llaṭa-*) *sūriṇā||.*

2 This is perhaps the reason why in some MSS of the work the colophon puts down the names of Mammaṭa and Allaṭa (or Alaka) as the authors, e.g. Bodleian MS (Hultzsch Collection 172), which is a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā characters, reads: *iti kāvyaprakāśābhidhānaṃ kāvya-lakṣaṇaṃ samāptam, kṛtiḥ śrī-rājānaka-mammaṭākālakayoḥ.* Also Stein, *Jammu Cat.* MS no. 1145 (cf introd. p. xiii f), 1173. See also colophon of an early MS mentioned above p. 145-46, fn. 4. The dual authorship of the *Kāv. prak.* is accepted by V. S. Sukthankar in *ZDMG*, xvi, p. 477-90.

3 This verse is ascribed to Candraka in Śārṅgadhara 3565.—On this question, see Kane in *IA*, 1911, p. 208.

reference to the fact of joint-authorship without particularly meaning collaboration of any special chapter, one may be led to the conclusion the Allaṭa (here mentioned as Alaka) had a hand not only in the 10th, as the tradition makes it out, but also in the 7th chapter.[1]

(3)

Of the three forms of the name, Alaka, Alaṭa and Allaṭa, the last, which is given in Stein's Jammu MS, seems to be the most authentic. The *ṭa* is a well-known suffix to Kashmirian names, and Stein says that "this form of the name is the only one known to the tradition of Kashmirian Pundits, to whom the double authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* is otherwise perfectly familiar."[2] But Alaka is as good a Kashmirian form of the name. This Allaṭa or Alaka is supposed to be the same as Rājānaka Alaka who wrote a commentary on Ruyyaka, and is quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha as such.[3] If this identification, which was suggested by Peterson but disfavoured by Stein, is correct, then we must also ascribe to him the *Viṣama-padoddyota* commentary[4] on Ratnākara's *Hara-vijaya*, where Alaka is described as son of Rājānaka Jayānaka. It appears strange, however, that Allaṭa the continuator of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* should also be the commentator of Ruyyaka, who in his turn commented on the same work. This will make the two writers commentators on each other's text; and if this were so, we may naturally expect a reference to this fact

1 H. R. Divekar in *JRAS*, 1927, holds that Mammaṭa composed only the Kārikās up to the figure Parikara and that the remaining Kārikās and the whole of the Vṛtti were composed by Alaka. But his arguments are hardly convincing.

2 See *Jammu Cat.* pp. xxiii f. Stein notes that the form Allaṭa of the name is "found also in the fine birch-bark codex of Kāvyaprakāśa-saṃketa written by Pandit Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in the Śaka year 1570 (A.D. 1648)."

3 Peterson ii p. 17f.

4 i pp. 13, 17. Cf. Bühler. *Kashmir Rep.* p. 45. The work, extending over 50 cantos, has been printed in Kāvyamālā 22.

by Ruyyaka, who otherwise alludes to the dual authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, but does not mention the name of Allaṭa as the continuator.[1]

(4)

A tradition, chiefly obtaining in Bengal, as we find it in Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Maheśvara Nyāyālaṃkāra, two very late Bengal commentators on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*,[2] imputes the authorship of the Kārikās (here called *sūtras*[3]) to Bharata and the prose-Vṛtti to Mammaṭa, while Bharata himself is said to have drawn upon the *Agni-purāṇa*. While the last assertion about the *Agni-purāṇa* has no foundation in fact and is apparently prompted by the amiable but unhistorical imagination of late writers, which delights in exalting the antiquity of the Purāṇas, the suggestion of Bharata's authorship of the Kārikās is too unauthentic and fanciful to be accepted. Mammaṭa's authorship of the Kārikās has been

1 It is clear, however, that the combination of names in the colophon to a MS of the *Kāv. prak.* (containing, in the same codex the text and Ruyyaka's °*Saṃketa* commentary), viz., *iti śrīmad-rājānakāllaṭa-mammaṭa-rucaka-viracite nijagrantha-kāvyaprakāśa-saṃkete prathama ullāsaḥ*, should not lead us to think, as Peterson and Stein do, that the *Kāv. prak.* is a joint-compilation of Allaṭa, Mammaṭa and Rucaka (or Ruyyaka), but it only indicates the names of the authors of the original work (viz. Mammaṭa and Allaṭa) as well as the name of the author of the °*Saṃketa* commentary comprised in the codex.

2 Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Sāhitya-kaumudī* on Mammaṭa, ed. Kāvyamālā 63, 1897, p. 2, and comm. ; also comm. p. 1. and text p. 189. (Cf. Peterson ii p. 10f.) ; Maheśvara's comm. (ed. Jivananda, 1876) p. 1. This view is also endorsed by Jayarāma Pañcānana, another Bengal commentator on Mammaṭa (see Peterson ii pp. 21-22, 107).

3 The term *sūtra* should not mislead us into thinking that the work might have been originally composed in that form, upon which the later *kārikā*-verses were based ; for it is not unusual for the commentators to refer fo Mammaṭa's *kārikās* themselves as *sūtras* ; e.g. °*Pradīpa*, ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 378 *sūtre vibhāga upalakṣaṇa-paraḥ* ; p. 384 *sūtraṃ copalakṣaṇatayā yojyam* ; °*Prabhā* p. 381 *sūtrāṣkarānusārataḥ* ; °*Uddyota* ed. Chandorkar, x p. 123.

declared by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 109 = *Kāvya-prak.* v. 1-2b) in the first quarter of the 12th century, as well as accepted by a succession of authors and commentators like Jayaratha, Vidyādhara, Mallinātha, Kumārasvāmin and Appayya. Vaidyanātha, commenting on °*Pradīpa* (i. 1), alludes to this tradition and rejects it expressly[1]; and in this view most of Mammaṭa's other commentators agree. Apart from this, the evidence of the text itself goes directly against such a hypothesis. The Kārikās iv. 4-5 are expressly supported in the Vṛtti by a dictum of Bharata (vi. p. 87. ed. Grosset), and this implies a distinction between the author of the Kārikā and that of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*.[2] The Kārikā x. 8b, again, says *mālā tu pūrvavat*, implying from the context that the figure *mālā-rūpaka* follows the rule laid down for the figure *mālopamā*, which, however, is not taught in any of the previous Kārikās, but explained in the Vṛtti. This apparently indicates that the Kārikā and the Vṛtti form one block which should be attributed to one and the same author.[3]

The source of this tradition is probably the unquestioned reverence paid to the sage Bharata, but it may also be due to the fact that Mammaṭa himself has made a considerable use of Bharata's Kārikās. Thus Bharata vi, 15, 17-21 = Mammaṭa iv. 6-11. Mammaṭa, however, has also made a similar use of Kārikās and illustrative verses of many of his predecessors. Thus, the Kārikā in Mammaṭa vii. 10 *karṇāva-*

1 °*Prabhā* ed. Kāvyamālā p. 2.

2 Cf Vaidyanātha on i. 1 ; *granthakṛd iti mammaṭabhaṭṭākhyasya kārikākartur nirdeśaḥ.........bharata-saṃhitāyāṃ kāsāṃcit kārikānāṃ darśanāt sa eva granthakṛd iti na yuktam* ; *caturthe—"kāraṇāny atha kāryāṇi sahakārīṇi"* (iv. 4) *ityādi kārikārthe "tad uktaṃ bharatena" iti bharata-saṃmati-pradarśanasyāsaṃgatitvāpatteḥ.*

3 To the same effect Vaidyanātha commenting on this passage, ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 329: *etad eva sūtraṃ sūtra-vṛttikṛtor ekatve jñāpakam, mālopamāyāḥ sūtrāvanuktāyā vṛttāveva kathanāt.* Also cf other agreeing opinions quoted in Jhalakikara's comm. ed. B.S.S. 1917, p. 599. See also S. K. De, *Mālā tu pūrvavat* in *ABORI*, vi, 1925 (reprinted in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, p. 131f).

taṁsādi-pade) appears as a *saṃgraha-śloka* in Vāmana's *vṛtti* on ii. 2, 19 ; while the definition of the figure *ākṣepa* in Mammaṭa x. 20 is taken from Bhāmaha ii. 67a and 68a, or Udbhaṭa ii. 2a and 3a as found quoted in Abhinava's *Locana* p. 36. Again, Mammaṭa iv.1 and 3 are clearly paraphrases from the *Dhvanyāloka* ii. 1 and 3. Mammaṭa also makes a large use of Rudraṭa's illustrations.[1]

The *Kāvya-prakāśa*, consisting of ten Ullāsas, traverses the whole field of Sanskrit Poetics (with the exception of dramaturgy) in only 143 Kārikās and about 620 illustrations derived from various sources. As it combines the merit of fulness with that of conciseness, it became one of the classic works of Sanskrit Poetics and Rhetoric which has always maintained a great authority and popularity throughout India. It sums up and explains in the succinct form of a brilliant text-book all the previous speculations on the subject, becoming in its turn the starting point of endless exegetic works and text- books. As such it occupies a unique position in the history of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature.[2]

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1 This has been shown by Sukthankar in *ZDMG*, lxvi, p. 477f, referred to above.

2 For a discussion of the various topics covered by the work see S. K. De, *Some Problems*, pp. 108-130.

Skt. Series 1889, 1901, 1917. (d) with a comm. by Harishankar Sarma Maithila, ed. D. R. Sastri, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1926. (e) with Budha-manorañjanī comm. of Mallāri Lakṣmaṇa Sastri, Madras 1891. *Text with old comm.* (a) With *Ādarśa* comm. of Maheśvara Nyāyālaṃkāra, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar Calcutta 1876 (the same, ed. Calcutta Skt. Ser. 1936). (b) With the comm. of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, ed. Papa Sastri, Benares 1866. (c) With *Pradīpa* of Govinda Ṭhakkura and *Prabhā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1891, 1912. (d) With *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota* of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa (ch, i. ii, vii and x), ed. D. T. Chandorkar, Poona 1896, 1898, 1915. (e) With *Pradīpa* in *Pandit* x-xiii, 1888 91. (f) With *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota* (complete), ed. V. S. Abhyankar, Anandasrama Press 1911. (g) With *Pradīpa, Uddyota, Prabhā, Saṃketa* (of Rucaka) and *Bāla-cittānurañjanī* of Narahari Sarasvtītīrtha (ch. i, ii, iii, and x), ed. S. S. Sukthankar, Bombay 1933, 1941. (h) With *Sāhitya-kaumudī* of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897. (i) With the *Saṃketa* of Māṇikyacandra, ed. V. S. Abhyankar, Anandasrama Press, Poona 1921 ; ed. R. Shama Sastry, Mysore 1922. (j) With the *Dīpika* of Caṇḍīdāsa, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1933. (k) With *Saṃpradāya-prakāśinī* of Śrīvidyā-cakravartin and *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* of Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, ed. H. Harihara Sastri, Trivandrum Skt. Series, in 2 vols., 1926, 1930. (l) With *Sudhā-sāgara* of Bhīmasena Dīkṣita, ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1927. (m) With *Saṃketa* of Rucaka, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in *Calcutta Oriental Journal* ii, 1935 ; (n) With *Viveka* of Śrīdhara, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sanskrit College, Calcutta 1959, pt. i (ch. i-iv).

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1925. (*b*) into English by Pandurang P. Joshi (ch. i. ii and x). Bombay 1913.

Our references are to the pages or by Kārikās of BSS ed. of Jhalakikar 1917.

The commentaries are discussed and enumerated in detail below.

b. *Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya*

Edition. By M. R. Telang, N. S. P. Bombay 1916. The work is also called *Śabda-vyāpāra-vicāra* in a BORI MS noticed in *Cat.* xii, p. 343-44.

THE COMMENTATORS ON MAMMAṬA

(1)

There is hardly any other technical work in Sanskrit which has been so much commented upon as the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, and no less than seventy different commentaries and glosses will be found noticed in the various reports, catalogues and journals relating to Sanskrit MSS. They count as their authors not only independent and notable writers on Poetics like Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha, but also men having other literary interests, like the Naiyāyika Jagadīśa and Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, the grammarian Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, the Mīmāṃsaka Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, the Vaiṣṇava Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, as well as the Tāntrika Gokulanātha. Very few of these commentaries have yet been printed. We mention here the more important and better known of these writers, noting their dates when known and supplying whatever information we can gather about them.

Rājānaka Ruyyaka or *Rucaka*

His commentary is called *Saṃketa*. He is identical with Ruyyaka (*q. v.*), author of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* ; middle of the 12th century.

Ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*

ii, 1935 ; also partly (on i, ii, iii and x) ed. S. S. Sukthankar, Bombay 1933, 1941.

Māṇikyacandra

His commentary is also called *Saṃketa.* It is dated in Saṃvat 1216=1159-60 A.D.[1] Māṇikyacandra was a Jaina author of Gujarat, who belonged to the Koṭika-gaṇa, Vajra-śākhā, Rājagaccha. The concluding verses of his commentary trace his spiritual genealogy to Śīlabhadra, after whom came in succession Bharateśvara, Vairasvāmin (Vīra°), Nemicandra and Sāgarendu. Our author states that he was a pupil of Nemicandra, as well as of his successor Sāgarendu, who is identified by Peterson[2] with the Sāgarendu who wrote out in the Saṃvat 1252 (=1196 A. D.) at Paṭṭana the first copy of the *Amamasvāmi-carita*[3] Our Māṇikyacandra seems to be identical with Māṇikya-candra, author of *Pārśvanātha-carita*, which is said to have been completed on the Dewali of Saṃvat 1276(=1220 A.D.) in Devakūpa (Divbandar) by the sea (v. 36). In it the author gives a spiritual genealogy, traced up to Pradyumna Sūri and corresponding exactly to that given in the °*Saṃketa*[4]. Māṇikya also appears to have written a *Nalāyaṇa* or *Kubera-purāṇa*[5]. Māṇikyacandra, mentioned in Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* as having flourished under Jayasiṃha of Gujarat, seems to be a different person.[6]

Edition with the text. (i) By Vasudeva Abhyankar, Anandasrama Press, Poona 1921 ; (ii) by R. Sharma Sastry, Mysore 1922.

1 Peterson iii, extr. p. 322, where the verse giving the date is incomplete, but it is given in full in Jhalakikara's introd. to *Kāv. prak*. p. 22.

2 iv, p. cxxviii.

3 iii, App. p. 98.

4 See extract in Peterson iii, App. p. 157-63 ; also vi, p. xci. The verse *ṣaṭ-tarkī-lalanā-vilāsa*°, describing his preceptor Nemicandra, occurs in *Pārśvanātha-carita* also, as in his °*Saṃketa*. See extracts in Peterson iii, pp. 160 and 321.

5 Peterson iii, App. p. 357.

6 For a discussion of Māṇikyacandra's date, see R. C. Parikh's ed. of Someśvara's comm. pp. 12-13.

Narahari called *Sarasvatī-tīrtha*

His commentary is called *Bāla-cittānurañjanī*. He also refers to two works, *Smṛti-darpaṇa* and *Tarka-ratna* (with its *Dīpikā* commentary), written by himself. Aufrecht notes that Narahari is also the author of a commentary on the *Megha-dūta*, of which there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library; and Stein notes (p.67) a *Kumārasaṃbhava-ṭīkā* by Sarasvatītīrtha. His commentary on Mammaṭa states that he was born in Saṃvat 1298=1241-42 A.D., in Tribhuvanagiri in the Andhra country. He traces his own genealogy to Rāmeśvara of Vatsa-gotra, and describes himself as son of Mallinātha and Nāgammā and granson of Narasiṃha, son of Rāmeśvara. He had a brother named Nārāyaṇa. When he became an ascetic, he took the name of Sarasvatītīrtha and composed his commentary at Benares[1].

Edition. A part only (on i, ii, iii and x) in S. S. Sukthankar's edition of *Kāvya prak.* mentioned above, Bombay 1933, 1941 ; extract from MSS in Peterson i, 74 and *IOC* iii, pp. 325f.

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa

His commentary is called °*Dīpikā* or *Jayantī*. He gives its date as Saṃvat 1350=1294 A.D. He calls himself son of Bharadvāja who was the family-priest (*purohita*) to the chief minister of Śārṅgadeva of Gujarat, the third Vāghelā sovereign who ruled at Paṭṭana during 1277-1297[2]. Jayanta is quoted by Paramānanda Cakravartin and Ratnakaṇṭha (*q.v.*), and the latter states that his own commentary was based on the *Jayantī*. Our Jayanta Bhaṭṭa must be distinguished from Bhaṭṭa Jayanta or Jayantaka, father of Abhinanda the author of the *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā 11, 1888), who is an earlier author quoted by Abhinavagupta (p. 142) and who lived probably in the 9th century.

Extract in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, App. 326.

1 Peterson i, pp. 25f, 74.

2 Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84 pp. 17-18 ; Peterson ii, pp. 17, 20.

Someśvara

His commentary is called *Kāvyādarśa*[1] (also *Saṃketa*). He describes himself as son of Bhaṭṭa Devaka of Bharadvāja-gotra. Jhalakikara thinks that he was a native of Kanauj from his decided partiality for that country. But his reference to the Pratyabhijñā School of Kashmir might indicate that he was Kashmirian. Peterson[2] and following him Aufrecht[3], identify him with Someśvara, author of *Kīrti-kaumudī* and *Surathotsava*, and place him in the first half of the 13th century. But this is doubtful, because this Someśvara is known as son of Kumāra. R. C. Parikh would assign the commentary to a period between 1150 and 1160 A.D. Our Someśvara cites Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa, Mukula, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Bhaṭṭa Tauta, Kuntaka (quoted pp. 135, 152, 302), Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra (p. 36), Ācārya Bhartṛmitra (p. 16), Candrikā-kāra (p. 55) and Yāyāvarīya (p. 224). He is cited in his turn by a very late commentator Kamalākara[4].

Ed. R. C. Parikh in 2 vols. (with the text), Rajasthan Pracya Vidya Pratisthan, Jodhpur 1959.

Vācaspati Miśra

Nothing is known of him or his commentary, but he is cited by Caṇḍīdāsa (as *prācīna* p. 131), by Viśvanātha on Mammaṭa, and by Bhīmasena. He is to be distinguished from Vācaspati Miśra, author of the *Bhāmatī*, who is probably older than Mammaṭa ; for in the list he gives of his own works at the end of the *Bhāmatī*, he does not refer to any commentary on Mammaṭa. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya (*JOI* Baroda, iii pp. 359-63) states that Vācaspati Miśra belonged to Mithila and lived near about 1200 A.D. But our Vācaspati

1 The two entries *Kāvyaprakāśa-ṭīkā* and *Kāvyādarśa* in Aufrecht i 737b should be one, as both refer to this comm.

2 v, pp. lxxxiv. 3 i, 102a, 737b.

4 In the Bhau Daji collection (see *Cat. of BRAS* p. 45) a MS of Someśvara's comm. states that it was copied from another MS dated in Saṃvat 1283. Hence the comm. appears to be older than 1227 A.D.

is probably not the Maithili legist who wrote *Ācāra-cintāmaṇi*, *Vivāda-cintāmaṇi* and other works (see Aufrecht i. 559-60).

Śrīdhara

With the title Sāṃdhi-vigrahika, cited by Caṇḍīdāsa (pp. 29, 59, 62, 117), and by Viśvanātha on Mammaṭa. Śrīdhara's commentary is called °*Viveka*. A MS the *Viveka* was copied in Mithila in 1405 A. D. (Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS* vi, p. cclxxi). Śrīdhara's date would be about first quarter of the 13th century A D. As in the colophon to this MS the author is described as Tarkācārya Ṭhakkura, he probably belonged to Mithila.

Edition. By Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Part i, ch. i-iv. Sanskrit College, Calcutta 1959.

Caṇḍīdāsa

His commentary, called °*Dīpikā*, was written at the instance of his friend Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The India Office MS of his work is written in Bengali characters, and he is cited mostly by Oriya, Maithili and Benares writers (e.g. Govinda in his °*Pradīpa* pp. 24, 36, 202, 274, Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Kamalākara, Vaidyanātha in his °*Udāharaṇa-candrikā*, Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa in his °*Prabhā*, and Viśveśvara in his *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* pp. 125, 166). He is not identical[1] with Caṇḍīdāsa, the younger brother of the grand-father of Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. He appears to have flourished before or about 1300 A.D. He is also cited by Viśvanātha, son of Trimaladeva (*q. v.*), in a Kashmirian MS dated 1602 A.D. Caṇḍīdāsa mentions a *Dhvani-siddhānta-grantha* by himself. He also quotes a work

1 See H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, p. cclxvi, for some curious information of Caṇḍīdāsa, author of *Dīpikā*. He belonged to Bengal (born in the Mukha-kula). The family lived at Ketugrāma, four miles west of Uddhāraṇapura on the Ganges. According to Sastri, the period of Caṇḍīdāsa's literary activity was in the middle of the 15th century or earlier.—The other Caṇḍīdāsa belonged to Orissa.

called *Sāhitya-hṛdaya-darpaṇa*, which may be Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's lost *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*.

Edition. By Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sarasvati Bhavan Texts, Benares 1933. Extract in *IOC* iii, 1141/491 (p. 320).

Viśvanātha

Author of the commentary °*Darpaṇa*. He is identical with Viśvanātha (*q. v.*), author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which is referred to in this commentary as his own. First half of the 14th century.

Extract in Jhalakikara's introd.

Bhaṭṭa Gopāla

Known as Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gopāla Sūri. The name of his commentary is *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi*, which is cited several times in *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana (ed. Benares, pp. 4, 8, 33). If he is the same as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa cited by Kumārasvāmin (p. 93), he should be earlier than the 15th century. K. P. Trivedi however, thinks that this Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of Kumārasvāmin is the same as wrote a comm. or *Rasa-mañjarī*. He will be identical, thus, with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa Drāvida, who wrote commentaries on Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (p. 95 above) and Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī* (*q. v.*)

Edition. By R. Harihara Sastri and K. Sambasiva Sastri, 2 vols, Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926, 1930.

Bhāskara

Wrote *Sāhitya-dīpikā* commentary. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana, Govinda Ṭhakkura (p. 21), Ravi (Peterson iii, p. 20), Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Bhīmasena, and Ratnakaṇṭha (Peterson ii, p. 17). Narasiṃha calls him Lāṭa Bhāskara Miśra. He is earlier than the end of the 15th century, being cited by Govinda (*Kāvya-pradīpa* pp. 25, 204, 308, 329). The commentary is also called *Kāvyālaṃkāra-rahasya-nibandha*.

Extract in Mitra 1681.

Paramānanda Cakravartin

His commentary is entitled *Vistārikā.* He refers to Miśra, Dīpikākṛt (Jayanta Bhaṭṭa?) and Viśvanātha ; and he must be later than Vidyānātha, whose *Pratāparudrīya* is cited by him. He is himself cited by Kamalākara, Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Vaidyanātha (*Udāharaṇa-can°*), Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, Ānanda and Ratnakaṇṭha. The earliest citation is probably by Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (p. 20) in 1583 A.D. Probably a Naiyāyika of Bengal. He mentions his guru Īśāna Nyāyācārya and appears to refer in a punning verse[1] to the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya. Jhalakikara thinks that the *cakravarti-lakṣaṇa*, found in the fourteen *gādādharī lakṣaṇas*, was formulated by him. Paramānanda, from his citations, cannot be earlier than the second half of the 14th century ; and he probably flourished before the 16th century[2], at the end of which Gadādhara flourished. He must be distinguished from Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin, apparently a South Indian writer, who commented on Ruyyaka (*q. v.*) as well as on Mammaṭa, and who is also cited under the common designation of Cakravartin. Paramānanda also wrote a commentary on the *Naiṣadha* (*IOC* vii p. 1438).

Extract in Peterson ii pp. 108-9. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4831/2492.

Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin

His commentary, entitled *Saṃpradāya-prakāśinī* refers to a commentary by himself on Ruyyaka. See under Ruyyaka for futher information on this commentator.

Edition. Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926, 1930, along with the comm. of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla mentioned above.

1 *andhā doṣāndhakāreṣu ke vā na syur vipaścitaḥ / nāhaṃ tu dṛṣṭi-vikalo dhṛtaś cintāmaṇiḥ sadā.*

2 H. P. Sastri (*Catalogue ASB*, vi, p. cclxix) states Paramānanda flourished before Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa (beginning of the 17th century) who cites from his work, as we have noted above.

Govinda Ṭhakkura

His well-known commentary is called °*Pradīpa*[1]. Govinda also wrote an °*Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*, apparently the same as °*Śloka-dīpikā* [2] in Stein (pp. xxviii 60, *269*), cited by Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. This is supplementary to the larger exegetical work, being a commentary on the illustrative verses of the text. The °*Pradīpa* has been commented on by Vaidyanātha Tatsat (°*Prabhā* and *Udāharaṇa-candrikā*) and Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa (°*Uddyota*). Govinda was a native of Mithila, born in the family of Ravikara, eldest son of Keśava and Sonodevī, elder brother of poet Śrī-harṣa who is not, however, as Peterson supposes, the author of the *Naiṣadha*[3]. In addition to this information about himself, Govinda tells us that he learnt *kāvya* and *sāhitya* from his elder step-brother Rucikara. His exact date is not known, but Govinda refers to Viśvanātha as *arvācīna*, quoting the latter's criticism of Mammaṭa's definition of poetry, as well as the latter's own definition of the same, without actually naming him or his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. Govinda, therefore, is probably later than the middle of the 14th century. On the other hand, he is earlier than the last quarter of the 16th century, being quoted in Prabhākara's *Rasa-pradīpa* which was composed in 1583 A.D. Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, who flourished later, but not much later, than 1612 A.D. (having himself quoted Kamalākara), is supposed, on the authority of the family genealogy, to be fifth in descent from

1 The full name of the commentary is *Kāvyaprakāśa-pradīpa*, simplified generally as *Kāvya-pradīpa* ; so Peterson's speculation on the name (i, 27) is idle trifling.

2 The second verse of this work refers to his *Kāvya-pradīpa*.

3 His brother's verse is cited in ch. x (p. 355) as *mad-bhratuḥ śrīharṣasya*, but the *Naiṣadha* is cited by name in the same chapter (p. 351) with *iti naiṣadha-darśanāt*. He laments, in one of the concluding verses, the death of this brother Śrī-harṣa, in which however he does not mention him, as he could have done, as the poet of the *Naiṣadha*.

Govinda, This will roughly place Govinda towards the end of the 15th century[1].

Edition: (1) In *Pandit* vols. x-xiii, 1888-89, by Rama Sastri Bhagavatacharya. (2) With comm. of Vaidyanātha, called °*Prabhā*, in Kāvyamālā 24, NSP, Bombay 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912). (3) With °*Uddyota* in Anandasrama Series 1911. (4) With °*Uddyota* (ch. i, ii, vii, x) by Chandorkar, Poona 1889.

Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana

His commentary is called °*Tilaka* or *Jayarāmī*. The commentary called *Rahasya-dīpikā* by Jayarāma, entered in some catalogues, appears to be an alternative name. He seems to be identical with the author of the *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā*, the *Padārtha-maṇimāla*, and of commentaries on the *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* and on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti*, which works indicate that he was a Naiyāyika. He is described as pupil of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabhadra) Bhaṭṭācārya Sārvabhauma and guru of Janārdana Vyāsa. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana and Bhīmasena, but the only writer who appears to quote him extensively is Viśveśvara (as Nyāyapañcānana) in his *Alaṃ. kaus.* pp. 11, 23, 106, 127, 161, 162, 172, 263, 327. Jayarāma was certainly later than Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (beginning of the 16th century), on whose *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti* he commented, but earlier than the beginning of the 18th century, the date of Bhīmasena. A more precise dating is possible because the date of Jayarāma's *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā* is given as Saṃvat 1750 (=1694 A.D.). He is said to have been patronised by Rājā Rāmakṛṣṇa of Krishnagar (Bengal). See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1921, pp.477f.

Extract in Peterson ii, p. 107 and Mitra 1447.

1 See introd. to N. S. P. ed of the *Pradīpa*; also the *Pandit* xiii, p. 74f.

Śrīvatsalāñchana[1] *Bhaṭṭācārya* and *Subuddhi Miśra*

Śrīvatsa's commentary is called *Sāra bodhinī*. It is mentioned by Hall[2] and attributed to "Maheśvara, otherwise called Śrīvatsalāñchana." Maheśvara or Māheśvara appears to be another name of Subuddhi Miśra who, Aufrecht notes,[3] wrote a commentary on Vāmana called *Sāhitya-sarvasva*; but Subuddhi also appears to be cited as a commentator on Mammaṭa by Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Vaidyanātha (*Udāharaṇa-can°*), Bhīmasena and Ratnakaṇṭha. The two are probably different persons, as Bhīmasena and Ratnakaṇṭha cite separately both Śrīvatsa and Subuddhi Miśra. Śrīvatsa is also the author of an independent work called *Kāvya-parīkṣā*[4], which deals in five Ullāsas with the general characteristics of poetry and follows in the main the teachings of Mammaṭa. This work may not be identical with *Tattva-parīkṣā* (or more fully *Śabdārtha-Tattva-parīkṣā*) by Subuddhi Miśra (perhaps the name of his commentary on Mammaṭa, cited by Ratnakaṇṭha and entered[5] by Kielhorn in *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 100).

1 Also called Śrīvatsa-śarman, Śrīvatsa-varman or simply Vatsavarman.

2 introd. *Vāsavadattā* p. 54.

3 Aufrecht's description (*ABod* 208a; *IOC*, iii, 1130/566, p 321) of Subuddhi-miśra as Subuddhimiśra-maheśvara, as well as Hall's statement, makes one think that the term is not *maheśvara* but *māheśvara*, which is often, as in the cases of Abhinavagupta and Vidyādhara, applied as an appellation of a Śaiva writer. This is thus a surname of both writers, which might have led to their doubtful identification.

4 Aufrecht i. 778b, ii. 19b; *IOC*, iii, p, 342 (MS dated 1550 A.D.). The five chapters of this work correspond in the following way to those of Mammaṭa. (i) Śabdārtha-nirṇaya = M 1-3 (ii) Kāvya-bheda = M 4-5 (iii) doṣa-nirṇaya = M 7 (iv) Guṇa-nirūpaṇa = M 8-9 (v) Alaṃkāra = M 10. With a few exceptions it gives the Kārikās as well as the illustrations of Mammaṭa with appropriate observations on them. It is thus in effect a commentary on portions of Mammaṭa's work. It has been printed by the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga 1956.

5 See Peterson ii, p. 17 where both Subuddhi's comm. and *Tattva-parīkṣā* are mentioned.

It is mentioned as a Comm. on *Kav. pr.* in H. P. Sastri *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4839/3515, pp. 417-18. Two other works, *Kāvyāmṛta*[1] and *Rāmodaya-nāṭaka*, are also ascribed to Śrīvatsa. A work called *Siddhānta-ratna-mālā* (a refutation of the Dvaita view of Vedānta) is noticed in *Madras Cat.* Trm I, B, 362, and is said to have been composed by Śrīvatsalāñchana Śarman, son of Viṣṇudhvajācārya. As Śrīvatsa cites Vidyānātha, he cannot be earlier than the 14th century ; on the other hand, he is earlier than the 17th century, having been quoted by Kamalākara (1612 A.D.) and Jagannātha (p. 39). It appears also that the *Sāra-bodhinī* in many places expands or condenses Paramānanda's *Vistārikā*. The colophon to the BORI MS of *Sāra-bodhinī* (no. 107, *Cat.* xii p. 115) informs us that Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya's father was Śrīviṣṇu Bhaṭṭācārya Cakravartin.

MSS. Extract in *Madras Catalcgue* xxii, 12827; also *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 54, pp. 56-57 (extract) of *Kāvya-parīkṣā*.

Paṇḍitarāja

This commentator, cited by Ratnakaṇṭha, is probably identical with Raghunandana Rāya, disciple of the legist Maheśa Ṭhakkura (See Jha's transl. of *Kāv. prak*, introd. p. ix). He should not be confounded with Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja.

Stein pp. 60, 269, extract given MS no. 1164 (Aufrecht i. 19a). Stein's MS of this work goes up to *Ullāsa* ii only and quotes no authorities except the Miśras and Pratyabhijñākāra. Jha's MS appears to have been copied in 1637 A.D.

Ravi and *Ratnapāṇi*

Ravi is the author of the *Madhumatī* commentary, the last verse of which tells us that he had a beloved daughter named Madhumatī, after whom the commentary was baptised. He also informs us that he was son of Gaurī and Manodhara,

1 Autrecht 1 103a, ii 20a.

alias Ratnapāṇi, and grandson of Acyuta, who was a minister of Śivasiṃha or Śivasiddha of Mithila (about the middle of the 15th century, *IOC* iv p. 875f). Ratnapāṇi or Manodhara also wrote a commentary or Mammaṭa, called *Kāvya-darpaṇa*[1], which is cited by his son and on which the latter's commentary itself seems to have been based. The father and the son are cited by Bhīmasena, while Kamalākara and Narasiṃha cite the Madhumatīkāra.

Extract in Peterson iii, p 332f ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, nos. 12822-23.

Maheśvara

With the title Nyāyālaṃkāra. His commentary is called °*Ādarśa*, or °*Bhāvārtha-cintāmaṇi*. He is a Bengal writer, who also composed a commentary on the *Dāyabhāga*. As he is cited by Vaidyānātha he should be placed before the middle of the 17th century, and it is probable that he flourished about the commencement of that century.

Edition. By Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta 1876 ; also ed. Calcutta Skt. Series 1936.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa

He is better known as a legist, and wrote a large number of works on Smṛti and Mīmāṃsā. He was a Mahratta Brahman of Benares, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and Umā, younger brother of Dinakara Bhaṭṭa, and grandson of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and great-grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa[2], Ananta Bhaṭṭa, who wrote the *Rāma-kalpadruma* at the request of Gariba-

1 See Peterson iii, App. p. 332 where extract is given (esp. *śl*. 5). A MS of this work, called *Kāvya-darpaṇa* or *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpaṇa* is noticed in Mitra 3169, and the author's name given as Manodhara.

2 For Kamalākara's place in the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares, see the pedigree given in V. N. Mandlik's ed. of *Vyavahāra-mayūkha* p. lxxvi. See also Bhandarkar, *Rep*. 1883-84, pp. 50-1. He is also the author of numerous works on Mīmāṃsā and Smṛti, some of which he mentions at the end of his comm. (see Aufrecht i. 80). It is said that his descendants still live in Benares.

dāsa, minister of Rājā Rājasiṃha, was his son. Kamalākara's date is known from the fact that he dates his well known *Nirṇaya-sindhu* in Saṃvat 1668=1612 A.D. He also wrote a poem called *Rāma-kautuka* in 4 cantos.

Edition. By Papa Sastri, Benares 1866. This comm. is described with extract in *IOC* iii, no. 1143/361, p. 327.

Rājānaka Ānanda

His commentary is called °*Nidarśana* or *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana* [1]. Hall (*Vāsavadattā* p. 16) is mistaken in attributing this work to Śitikaṇṭha and taking it as dedicated to Ānanda. The colophon, as well as the first verse[2], of this commentary accounts probably for Hall's mistake ; but the author himself explains that the commentary is so named from the fact that an attempt is made in it to interpret Mammaṭa's text as having, besides its *ālaṃkārika* meaning, a mystical sense relating to Śitikaṇṭha or Śiva. Mammaṭa himself might have been a Kashmirian Śaiva ; but this leaves no doubt that Ānanda was one, although it is doubtful whether the text lends itself to such an interpretation. The date is given in the colophon as 1665 A.D., although Hall thinks that this is the date in which the MS of the work was copied. Stein remarks: "Ānanda, who composed his commentary in 1665 A.D. is still well remembered in the tradition of Kashmirian Paṇḍits as the contemporary and friend of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha[3]",

1 The colophon, as quoted by Bühler (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 69 fn), says: *iti śrīmad-rājānakānvaya-tilakena rājānakānandakena viracitaṃ kāvya-prakāśa-nidarśanam*. But elsewhere in the Jammu MS of Stein, it says: *iti śrī-kāvya-darśane śitikaṇṭha-vibodhane kāvyoddeśa-darśanaṃ prathamam*, col. to ch. i. It seems that the real name of the comm. is °*Nidarśana* as Peterson thinks, *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana* being an alternative or descriptive name arising from the second meaning relating to Śitikaṇṭha or Śiva which the commentary finds in the text.

2 *praṇamya śāradāṃ kāvya-prakāśo bodha-siddhaye / padārtha-vivṛti-dvārā śitikaṇṭhasya darśyate*. Jhalakikara reads: *sva-śiṣyebhyaḥ pradarśyate*, but remarks: *atra śitikaṇṭhasya darśyate iti pāṭho vivaraṇa-kārair aṅgīkṛtaḥ*,

3 *Jammu Cat* p. xxvii fn. The date is given in Kali era 4766.

one of whose known dates is 1648 A.D. Ānanda, therefore, may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 17th century. Ānanda also appears to have written a commentary on the *Naiṣadha*.

Extract in Peterson (i, 74); also in Stein, *Jammu Catalogue* p. xxvii.

Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha

His commentary is called *Sāra-samuccaya* which, as its title indicates and the author confesses, was composed by a compilation from "the principal commentaries of Jayanta and others." He cites, therefore, some of the well-known commentaries before his time,[1] among which we find the *Śāhitya-dīpikā* (of Bhāskara), *Sāra-bodhinī* (of Śrīvatsa), the commentaries of Subuddhi Miśra and Paṇḍitarāja, the *Vistārikā* (of Paramānanda), the *Pradīpa* (of Govinda), and two other works *Tattva-parīkṣā* and *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā*. This is the same Ratnakaṇṭha as copied the *codex archetypus* of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, mentioned by Stein (introd. p. vii f) and also transcribed MSS of the °*Saṃketa* of Ruyyaka in 1648, of Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on Amara in 1655, and of Trilocanadāsa's *Kātantra-pañjikā* in 1673 A.D. He is identical with Ratnakaṇṭha, who was the son of Śaṃkarakaṇṭha and grandson of Ananta-kavi of the Dhaumyāyana family and who wrote a *Stuti-kusumāñjali-ṭīkā* (called *Śiṣya-hitā*) in 1681 A.D., and a *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya-kāvya-ṭīkā* in 1672 A.D. (Aufrecht i, 489b ; Stein, *loc. cit*). These dates range from 1648 to 1681 A.D., during which apparently the literary activity of Ratnakaṇṭha falls.

Extract in Peterson, *Report* ii, p. 129 (also ii, 16f), which gives a list of authors quoted ; BORI MS no. 113 (*Cat.* xii, p. 121).

Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura

His commentary is called *Narasiṃha-manīṣā*. He belonged to the same family as Govinda Ṭhakkura and was fifth in

1 The list of authors cited by him is given in Peterson, *Report* ii p. 17f.

descent from him. The latest writer he cites seems to be the Madhumatī-kāra (Ravi) and Kamalākara, and he is cited in his turn by Bhīmasena with the title *nyāya-vidyā-vāgīśa*. Between 1620-1700 A.D.

MSS. Aufrecht i. 101b, ii. 19b.

Vaidyanātha Tatsat

He wrote two commentaries: (1) the °*Prabhā* on the °*Pradīpa* of Govinda and (2) the °*Udāharaṇa-candrikā* on the illustrative verses of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. The date of the latter work is given in the concluding verse as Saṃvat 1740=1684 A.D.[1] He also wrote *Alaṃkāra-candrīkā* commentary on Appayya's *Kavalayānanda* (*q. v.*). He is different from Vaidyanātha, the Maithili grammarian, son of Mahādeva and Veṇī and pupil of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa; for our Vaidyanātha is known as son of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabuddha) Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa of the Tatsat family, and is referred to by Nāgojī himself. Our Vaidyanātha cites Caṇḍīdāsa, Subuddhi Miśra, the Dīpikākṛt (Govinda's *Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*), Cakravartin and Maheśa, and is cited by Bhīmasena. He is probably not the same as Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa who wrote commentaries on the *Candrāloka* of Jayadeva and the *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara* of Nāgojī (ed. Anandasrama, Poona 1913).

Edition. *Prabhā*, ed. with *Pradīpa* by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912).

Udāharaṇa-candrikā. Extract in Peterson Report ii, p. 108, in *SCC* vii, 54, in *IOC* iii, 1151/943b.

Bhīmasena Dīkṣita

His commentary is called *Sudhā-sāgara* or *Sudhodadhi*[2]. It is dated in Saṃvat 1779=1723 A.D.[3] He was a Kanauj

1 The date is given in the *IOC MSS Cat.* iii, p. 322, no. 1151.

2 The form *Sukhodadhi* given in Peterson's extract (i, p. 94) should be *Śudhodadhi*.

3 Peterson *Report* i, p. 94.

Brahman who describes himself as son of Śivānanda and grandson of Muralīdhara; his genealogy being given thus: Gaṅgādāsa—Vīreśvara— Muralīdhara— Śivānanda— Bhīmasena. He is also the author of two independent works, called *Alaṃkāra-sāroddhāra* and *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana*[1], the latter apparently directed against Appayya's work of the same name, and both referred to in his commentary on Mammaṭa. The last work was composed at Jodhpur while Ajitasiṃha (1680-1725 A D.) was still reigning. Bhīmasena also wrote a commentary on the *Ratnāvalī*[2]. He cites a large number of commentators, such as Caṇḍīdāsa, Bhāskara, Acyuta, Ratnapāṇi, Ravi, Jayarāma Pañcānana, Vācasapati Miśra, Cakravartin, Ruci Miśra, Murāri Miśra, Pakṣadhara Upādhyāya, Devanātha Tarkapañcānana, Śrīvatsalāñchana, Govinda and Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Maheśa or Maheśvara, and Vaidyanātha.

Edition. By Narayan Sastri Khiste in Chowkhamba Sansk. Ser. Benares 1927. Extract in Peterson i, p. 94 and in Jhalakikara's ed. of *Kāv. prak.*

Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa

Known simply as Vidyābhūṣaṇa. His work, dignified with the name of "a *vṛtti* on Bharata's *sūtra*" (so he calls Mammaṭa's Kārikās[3]), is named the *Sāhitya-kaumudī*, on which he himself writes a *ṭippaṇa*, called *Kṛṣṇānandinī*. It has the same arrangement and subject-matter as those of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, but it adds an eleventh chapter on some extra Alaṃkāras of Śabda and Artha. A work called *Kāvya-kustubha* in 9 Prabhās is noticed and attributed to one Vidyābhūṣaṇa (in Stein pp. 59, 268) who appears to be a

1 The work is also called *Alaṃkāra-sāra-sthiti*, a MS of which is noticed in Mitra 4084 (Aufrecht ii. 23a). A very incorrect and at places illegible MS of this work exists in the BORI (*Cat.* xii, no. 156, pp.179-80, which gives a list of its citations). See also H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4895/3147, p. 456.

2 Aufrecht i. 492.

3 See above pp. 152f.

Vaiṣṇava and probably the same as our author (see pref. to Kāvya-mālā ed. of the *Sāhitya-kaumudī* and Aufrecht i 101a, ii. 19b, 193b, iii. 22b); for this work see below under Minor Writers. Baladeva was a pupil of Rādhādāmodara-dāsa (concluding verse of *Sah. k.* and its commentary) and Gopāladāsa (*alias* Rasikānanda, commentary on *śl.* 1), and the Guru of Uddhava-dāsa. He was a Vaiṣṇava and follower of Caitanya, and wrote various Vaiṣṇava works. Though belonging to Orissa he was a champion of the later phase of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and attempted a rapproachement between Madhvaism and Caitanyaism; see on this S K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta 1942, pp. 11-12. Apart from his commentary mentioned above, his most notable works are *Govinda-bhāṣya* on the Vedānta-sūtra and *Prameya-ratnāvalī*. He is said to have been a contemporary of Jayasiṃha of Jaypur, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. Aufrecht notes that his commentary on the *Utkalikā-vallarī* was written in 1765 A.D. A pun in the first verse of his *Sāhitya-kaumudī* refers, as he himself explains in the *ṭippaṇa*, to Gajapati Pratāparudra of Utkala or Orissa.

Edition. With *Kṛṣṇānandinī*, ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897. The *Bharata-sūtra-vṛtti* in Peterson ii, 10 is the same work as this.

Nāgojī or *Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa*

He wrote two commentaries called *Laghu-* and *Bṛhat-Uddyota* on *Pradīpa*. Also author of a °*Udāharaṇa-dīpikā* or °*pradīpa* on the illustrations in the text (Stein, pp. xxvii, 268). He belongs to the first quarter of the 18 h century. He also wrote a commentary on Jagannātha (*q.v.*), from whom he was removed by two generations, and other works. See below under Jagannātha.

Edition. °*Uddyota*, ed. with °*Pradīpa* in Anandasrama Series 1911; ed. with text and °*Pradīpa* (ch. i, ii, vii and x by Chandorkar, Poona 1889, 1915.

°*Udāharaṇa-dīpikā*, Aufrecht ii. 19b (extract in Stein pp. 268-69, called °Pradīpa).

(2)

We give below the names of the some of the less known commentators on Mammaṭa (alphabetically):

(1) Kalādhara. Wrote °*Kārikāvali*, which appears to be a synopsis of the Kārikās. *KBod* 501.

(2) Kalyāṇa Upādhyāya. Name of comm. unknown, mentioned by Jha in his introd. to his trans. of *Kāv. prak.* p. ix.

(3) Kṛṣṇa Dvivedin. Comm. *Madhura-rasā*. Aufrecht i. 101b.

(4) Kṛṣṇa Śarman. *Rasa-prakāśa*. HPS iii no. 58 (extract; ends with the 5th chapter); *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4842/6581, pp. 419-20 (a fragment of only 20 leaves, containing the first and second chapters).

(5) Kṛṣṇamitrācārya, son of Rāmanātha and grandson of Devīdatta: a Naiyāyika, for whose works see Aufrecht i. 121b. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i. 101b.

(6) Gadādhara Cakravartin Bhaṭṭācārya. °*Ṭīkā*. Mitra 1527; *SCC* vii 13. Gadādhara is well known for his commentary on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti*, one of the standard works on Navya Nyāya of Bengal. He was a pupil of Harirāma Tarkālaṃkāra and flourished at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century.

(7) Guṇaratna Gaṇi. Comm. *Sāra-dīpikā* (*BORI Cat. MSS* xii, p. 112). The MS is dated Saṃvat 1890.

(8) Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, the Maithili Smārta. °*Ṭīkā*, mentioned in Jha *op. cit.* p. ix. See chapter on Minor Writers below.

(9) Gopīnātha. Comm. *Sumano-manoharā*. Aufrecht i. 101b. He also wrote a comm. on Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*q.v.*). End of the 17th century.

(10) Jagadīśa Tarka-pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya. Comm.

°*Rahasya-prakāśa*. Aufrecht i. 101b (Mitra 1651). MS written by his pupil in Śaka 1579=1657 A.D. He is different from Jagadīśa Tarkālaṃkāra, the famous Naiyāyika who was a pupil of Bhavānanda and (Rāmabhadra) Sārvabhauma of Navadvipa (Bengal).

(11) Janārdana Vibudha, pupil of Ananta. Comm. °*Śloka-dīpikā*. Aufrecht i. 101b, ii. 19b (Stein 61, incomplete). He also wrote commentaries on the *Raghu* and *Vṛtta-ratnākara*. He should be distinguished from the better known Janārdana Vyāsa, son of Bābuji Vyāsa and grandson of Viṭṭhala Vyāsa and pupil of Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (see above p. 164).

(12) Tiruveṅkaṭa, son of Cinnatimma and grandson of Tirumala-guru. A South Indian writer who quotes Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's commentary. *Madras Trm. Cat.* A 318.

(13) Devanātha Tarkapañcānana. Comm. *Kāvya-kaumudī* written in Saṃvat 1717 (=1661). *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, p. 81. Described as son of Govinda. Cited by Kamalākara and Bhīmasena. Bharata Mallika on Bhaṭṭi x. 73 quotes one Devanātha. Our Devanātha appears to be a logician of Bengal who upheld the views of Mammaṭa against the adverse criticism of Viśvanātha. See *Madras Trm* II, C, 1570 for extracts, and II, A, 819. See Mitra 1447 where mention is made of an *Ekaṣaṣṭyalaṃkāra-prakāśa* which quotes Devanātha and Jayarāma as its sources.

(14) Narasiṃha Sūri, son of Timmaji Mantrin and grandson of Raṅgaprabhu. Comm. *Ṛju-vṛtti* on Kārikās only. Aufrecht ii. 19b ; *Madras Trm* B. 381.

(15) Nāgarāja Keśava. Comm. *Pada-vṛtti*. Aufrecht i. 101b.

(16) Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, son of Raṅganātha Dīkṣita and brother of Bālakṛṣṇa. Raṅganātha's commentary on the *Vikramorvaśī* was finished in 1656 A. D. Hence the date of our author is the end of the 17th century. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i. 101b (see also 292a: *AFI* p. 155)

(17) Bhānucandra. °*Ṭīkā*. Aufrecht i. 101b. Also wrote a commentary on the *Daśa-kumāra*.

(18) Bhavadeva, son of Kṛṣṇadeva of Mithila and pupil of Bhavadeva Ṭhakkura. Comm. *Līlā*. Aufrecht ii. 20a ; *Madras Cat.* 12824-25 (extract). Also wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* (*IOC* 1428). According to the final verse in this commentary the author lived in the reign of Shah Jahan and composed his commentary at Patna in Śaka 1571 =1649 A. D,

(19) Madhumatigaṇeśa. Comm. *Kāvya-darpaṇa*, Aufrecht i. 102a.

(20) Yajñeśvara Yajvan. Comm. °*Vyākhyā*. *Madras Cat.* 12821 (extract).

(21) Raghudeva. Comm. °*Kārikārtha-prakāśikā*. Aufrecht ii. 20a (up to the end nearly of Ullāsa ii)

(22) Ratneśvara. Name of Comm. unknown, but referred to by himself in his comm. on Bhoja (cf *ABod* 209a).

(23) Rāghava. Wrote an *Avacūri Ṭippaṇa*, mentioned in Jhalakikara p. 36.

(24) Rājānanda. Comm. without a name. *Madras Cat.* 12820 (extract) ; cf Aufrecht ii. 20a.

(25) Rāmacandra. Wrote a *Kāvyaprakāśa-sāra*, which is apparently a summary exposition of the substance of the text. Aufrecht i. 102b.

(26) Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, a Bengal commentator who wrote the comm. °*Rahasya-prakāśa*. Aufrecht i 102a. His commentary on Bhavadeva's

Saṃskāra-paddhati was composed in 1623 A.D. (see Aufrecht i. 516a).

(27) Rāmakṛṣṇa. Comm. *Bhāvārtha* or *Kavi-nandinī* (or °*nandikā*). Aufrecht i. 102a, ii. 20a: also ii. 16b.

(28) Vijayānanda. Wrote a °*Ṭīkā*. *Deccan Coll. Cat.* p. 44. The age of the MS is given as 1683 A.D.

(29) Vidyāsāgara, apparently the title of some commentator. Cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana. One Vidyāsāgara wrote a *Kalā-dīpikā-ṭīkā* on Bhaṭṭi, and is cited by Bharata Mallika (on x. 73), and by Rāmanātha on *Amara-kośa*. S. P. Bhattacharya (introd. to ed. Śrīdhara's comm. p. xxx) is inclined to take this commentator on Mammaṭa as Puṇḍarīka Vidyāsāgara who flourished in the early decades of the 15th century. He is said to have written comm. also on Daṇḍin and Vāmana.

(30) Veṅkaṭācala Sūri. Comm. *Subodhinī*. Aufrecht i. 102a. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi. no. 4837/, 8736, p. 415.

(31) Śivanārāyaṇa Dāsa Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, son of Durgādāsa. Comm. °*Dīpikā*. Weber i, no. 819; Aufrecht i. 102a. He wrote at the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 649b.

(32) Śivarāma Tripāṭhin. Comm. *Viṣamapadī*. Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 107. See below under Minor Writers for the author.

(33) Siddhicandra Gaṇi, *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* in ten Ullāsas, edited by Rasiklal C. Parikh from the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1953. The writer is a notable Jaina monk and author (b. 1587-88 A.D.) in the time of Akbar and Jahangir and a contemporary of Jagannātha. His method, as he himself tells us, is *anuvāda-pūrvaka khaṇḍana*, *i.e.* first exposition and then criticism,

although all his criticisms are not justified. Siddhicandra appears also to have written a Bṛhatī Ṭīkā on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. While Hemacandra would accept Mammaṭa's work as the standard, Siddhicandra was perhaps one of the 'Navyas', like Jagannātha, who indicates an attempt to set up a new school of poetic theories. For information about the author and his works see Introd. to ed. mentioned. – MS entitled *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* or *Kāvyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* noticed by Mitra 2674 goes up to the 7th Ullāsa; it appears to be a different work.

Besides these, there are numerous commentaries, either anonymous or with the name of the author missing, some which are entered in Aufrecht i. 101b, 778b, ii. 20a, 193b. This illustrates the saying of Maheśvara, one of the commentators: *kāvya-prakāśasya kṛtā gṛhe gṛhe/ṭīkā tathāpy eṣa tathaiva durgamaḥ* !

CHAPTER VII

FROM RUYYAKA TO VIDYĀNĀTHA

RUYYAKA

(1)

Ruyyaka, who also bore the name of Rucaka[1] and had the Kashmirian title of Rājānaka prefixed to his name, was son of Rājānaka Tilaka[2] who, Jayaratha informs us (pp. 115, 124, 205), wrote a commentary or critique on Udbhaṭa called *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-vicāra*.

The *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, by which Ruyyaka is chiefly known, consists of two parts, viz. Sūtra and Vṛtti ; but the question has been raised whether the authorship of the two parts should be attributed to the same writer. The Nirnay Sagar Press edition of the text, published under the above title, admits Ruyyaka's authorship of both the Sūtra and the Vṛtti, a view which is accepted by his earliest commentator

1 *rājānaka-rucakāparanāmno'laṃkārasarvasva-kṛtaḥ* (*kṛtiḥ*), col. to Pischel's ed. of *Sahṛdaya-līlā* ; cf ed. of the same in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka v (1908), reading of MS *kha*. This name is given in some of the MSS of his larger work (e. g. col. to the N.S.P. and Trivandrum eds. of the text ; in Mitra ix. p. 117), as well as by Kumārasvāmin (pp. 393, 396, 425, 448), Appayya Dīkṣita (*Citr. mīm.* p. 72), Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* (pp. 161, 179, 193), and Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin, one of Ruyyaka's commentators (*Madras Cat.* xii, p. 8609). Bühler (*Kashmir Rep.* no. 247, p. xvi) and Peterson (ii p. 13f) also found this name in connexion with Ruyyaka's *Saṃketa* comm. on Mammaṭa. That the form Ruyyaka is the more authentic is testified to by his pupil Maṅkhaka (*Śrīkaṇṭha-c.* xxv. 30 : see below).

2 *rājānaka-tilakātmaja°* col. to Pischel's ed. of the *Sahṛdaya-līlā*. Ruyyaka's father was thus, like himself, a writer on Poetics and a follower of Udbhaṭa. See above p. 76-77. Tilaka is mentioned and quoted (one verse) by Someśvara in his comm. on Mammaṭa (ed. Parikh, p. 295, on Ullāsa x. 106).

Jayaratha, who refers to the author as *granthakṛt* with respect to both the Sūtra and Vṛtti portions.[1] The invocatory verse to the Vṛtti in this edition reads in the second line

nijālaṃkāra-sūtrāṇāṃ vṛttyā tātparyam ucyate

so that the Sūtra is avowedly referred to as his own by the Vṛttikāra.[2] Some doubt, however, has been thrown on this view by the discovery of a different reading of this line in some of the South Indian MSS, which introduce a grave variant in the phrase *nijālaṃkāra-sūtrāṇām* by changing it into *gurvalaṃkāra-sūtrāṇām.* There is also, at the end of the Vṛtti in these MSS an additional verse[3], which gives the name of the Vṛtti (and not of the text which is called *Alaṃkāra-sūtra*) as *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, and the name of the author of the Vṛtti as Maṅkhuka or Maṅkhaka, who is described as a *sāṃdhivigrahika* to the king of Kashmir. This forms the reading of the text (based on three MSS), which is published in the Trivandrum Series, as well as of MSS noticed by Burnell,[4] Winternitz[5] and in the *Madras Catalogue*[6]. This view is supported by Samudrabandha, a South Indian commentator, who flourished at the end of 13th century and whose text is printed in the Trivandrum edition ; for the Vṛtti, the subject of his commentary, is known to him by the name of *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and its author as Maṅkhaka, while the original work of Ruyyaka is called *Alaṃkāra-sūtra.*

1 pp. 19, 20, 55, 57, 67, 72, 83, 87 etc.

2 Same reading in *ABod* 210a, where Ruppaka is a mistake or a variant (Bühler *op. cit.* p. 68) for Ruyyaka ; Mitra ix p. 117.—All the Jammu MSS have *nijālaṃkāra*°.

3 *iti maṅkhuko vitene kāśmīra-kṣitipa-sāṃdhivigrahikaḥ / sukavi-mukhālaṃkāraṃ tad idam alaṃkāra-sarvasvam / /*

4 *Tanjore Cat.* p. 54a.

5 *Cat. of South Ind. MSS in the RAS*, p. 208 ; cf Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 283f.

6 xii, pp. 8606-7. The question is discussed at some length in Harichand Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 105f.

We are thus confronted with two distinct traditions, embodied in these two different views and prevailing in the North and South of India respectively, with regard to the authorship of the Vṛtti, there being no dispute as to Ruyyaka's authorship of the Sūtra-text itself. So far as we can judge, the North Indian tradition, obtaining in Kashmir, to which place both Ruyyaka and Maṅkhaka belonged, seems to be the authentic one; for the South Indian tradition is not uniform in this respect and does not always distinguish between the author of the Sūtra and the Vṛtti respectively. Thus, Appayya Dīkṣita, a noted South Indian writer, refers[1] to Ruyyaka or Rucaka as the author of the work as a whole, which is called the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, attributing to him both the Sūtra and the Vṛtti; and Appayya is in agreement, in this respect, with Mallinātha[2], Kumārasvāmin[3], and Jagannātha[4]. On the other hand, the testimony of Jayaratha, himself a Kashmirian, cannot be very well superseded by what the much later commentator Samudrabandha says in conformity to a tradition which itself is not unanimous. It is also significant that while Ruyyaka (and even Jayaratha) is quoted and discussed extensively by later writers on Poetics, Maṅkhaka is not cited as a writer on the subject except once by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (p. 10).

(2)

This tradition of Maṅkhaka's collaboration with Ruyyaka would not perhaps have arisen, had not Maṅkhaka, as the

1 *Citr. mīm.* p. 14, 15, 54, 72, 84, 90, 94, 98; *Kuvalay.* p. 41, 89, 92, 96, 184.

2 *Taralā* pp. 21, 186, 187, 232, 237, 249, 261, 262, 266, 331, 332.

3 *Ratnāpaṇa* pp. 393 (=*Alam. sar. vṛtti* p. 58), 425 (=*ibid*, p. 133), 448 (=*ibid*, p. 144); p. 341 (=*ibid, sūtra* p. 20) p. 452=(*ibid*, p. 156).

4 *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* has numerous references, but see pp. 163 and and 200, where both the Sūtra and Vṛtti are quoted under the citation *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*. See also pp. 251, 342-43, 352, 482. Also Rāghava-bhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* p. 161 (=*Alaṃ. sarv. vṛtti* p. 64), p. 179 (=*ibid*, p. 75), p. 193 (=*ibid*, p. 127).

tradition says, been in fact a pupil of Ruyyaka.[1] Rājānaka Maṅkhaka or Maṅkhuka, son of Viśvāvarta and grandson of Manmatha, is well known as the Kashmirian author of *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1887) which was written, according to Bühler,[2] between 1135 and 1145 A. D, Maṅkhaka's brother Alaṃkāra (or Laṅkaka, xxv. 15, 37f) was a minister (v. 62, xxv. 43, 61) under Sussala and Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1129-1150 A.D.), and another brother Śṛṅgāra held a high office (*bṛhat-tantrapati*) under Sussala, whom he assisted in his war against Harṣadeva. Maṅkhaka tells us how after composing his poem he submitted it, at the house of his brother Alaṃkāra, to an assembly of learned scholars and officials, among whom he describes Ruyyaka as his own preceptor (xxv. 30, 135). This also explains how Ruyyaka's own work contains five verses from Maṅkhaka's poem[3] cited as illustrations ; for it is not unlikely that the Guru should in this way quote his worthy disciple. As the latest date of Maṅkhaka's poem is given as 1145 A.D., we may presume that Ruyyaka's *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, which quotes it, was composed a little later. Again, Māṇikyacandra's *Saṃketa* (on Mammaṭa) which was composed in 1159-60 A.D. quotes the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*. We can, therefore, fix Ruyyaka's literary career in the second and third quarters of the 12th century[4].

1 This fact, as well as what Jayaratha says about corruptions and additions to the text of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*, would perhaps explain how the tradition of Maṅkhaka's collaboration began.

2 *op. cit.* p. 50f ; extract App. pp. cix f. See also *Rāja-taraṅg.* viii. 3354.

3 See Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 283 for these verses (ii. 49, iv. 79, v. 23, vi. 16, x. 10).

4 Jacob (*op. cit.* p. 283) points out that Ruyyaka (p. 93) quotes *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* iv. 441 (*asamāpta-jigīṣasya*), which work was not completed till about 1150 A. D. in the reign of Jayasiṃha. This verse, however, occurs an an anonymous quotation in Abhinava's Comm. on Bharata (ch. vi, vol. i, p. 305). It should be borne in mind that Jayaratha

In this work, composed in the Sūtra-vṛtti style Ruyyuka concerns himself only with poetic figures. After dealing with Punar-uktavadābhāsa, Anuprāsa (Cheka-, Vṛtti- and Lāṭa-), Yamaka and Citra he goes on to discuss 75 figures of Artha beginning with Upamā. He gives two altogether new figures Vikalpa (p. 159) and Vicitra (p. 133-34). His work is mostly drawn upon by later writers like Viśvanātha, Vidyānātha and Appayya Dīkṣita. Ruyyaka quotes the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in many places (p. 107 on Paryāyokta ; p, 102=*KP* iv, p. 128 ; p. 183 definition of Bhāvika), and the definitions of Citra, Kāvya-liṅga, Vyājokti, Uttara, Milita and Samādhi are given as they occur in Mammaṭa's work.

(3)

The works of Ruyyaka are numerous, of which three only have been printed:

(1) *Kāvyaprakāśa-saṃketa*, a commentary on Mammaṭa's text, referred to as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 102, and by Ratnakaṇṭha (Peterson ii, pp. 17, 19 as *Bṛhat-saṃketa*). For ed. see above p. 156.

(2) *Alaṃkāra-mañjarī*, referred to by himself at p. 15. Not mentioned by Jayaratha as Ruyyaka's. P. V. Kane doubts if it is a work by Ruyyaka.

(3) *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsa*, referred to by himself at p. 61, also by Jayaratha p. 126. It is cited without the author's name in Vidyānātha p. 11 (Cf *ABod* 210a). Burnell mentions an anonymous metrical *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 58a), with prose Vṛtti in eight Prakaraṇas. This is apparently the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* published in the Trivandrum Skt. Series in 1934.[1] The MS sources contain large gaps and lacunae, and the name of the author is not given either at the beginning or at the

frequently complains of unauthorised additions and corruption of the text itself (pp. 50. 67, 107, 124, 126 etc), and discusses readings (pp. 21, 37, 49, 172 etc.). Jayaratha himself quotes twelve verses (p. 194) from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, which describe Lalitāditya of Kashmir.

1 See above p. 144.

end. A résumé of this work has been given by P. V. Kane (*HSP*, pp. 269-72), who believes it to be a work of Ruyyaka. It is noteworthy, however, that it speaks not of Vyañjanā, but of Tātparya-vṛtti as leading to the realisation of Rasa, a view which fundamentally differs from that of Ruyyaka who declares distinctly (p. 13): *asti tāvad vyaṅgya-niṣṭho vyāpāraḥ*. It shows some influence of the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja. V. Raghavan (pp. 99-100) doubts if it is the work of Ruyyaka.

(4) *Alaṃkārānusāriṇī*, cited by Jayaratha as Ruyyaka's (pp. 36, 57, 58 and 60). This work is supposed by Peterson[1], and following him by Aufrecht[2] and Jacobi[3], to be a commentary on Jahlaṇa's *Somapāla-vilāsa*. As Jayaratha's citations indicate, it discussed some of the poetic figures in that composition, but there is nothing in these citations to show that it was in fact a commentary on Jahlaṇa's *Somapāla-vilāsa*. The poet Jahlaṇa is described in Maṅkhaka's *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* (xxv. 75) ; and Somapāla, king of Rājapurī (near Kashmir), whose life Jahlaṇa appears to have recorded, is known from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (viii. 621f) to have made war against Kashmirian Sussala. It is clear that this poet, who must have flourished in the first half of the 12th century, should be distinguished from Bhagadatta Jahlaṇadeva, the compiler of the *Sūkti-muktāvali*, who lived in the second half of the 13th century, but to whom Aufrecht (i. 203a) wrongly attributes the *Somapāla-vilāsa* itself.

(5) A commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka*, referred to by Jayaratha as *Vyaktiviveka-vicāra* (p. 13). This has been identified with the anonymous commentary published with Mahimabhaṭṭa's work in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series ; for, although the author's name does not appear in the published text of that commentary, which is called simply °*Vyākhyāna*,

1 *Report* ii, p. 17 ; introd. to *Subhāṣ°*. p. 106 ; *Actes du 6me Cangrés* p. 364. It is so described by Ratnakaṇṭha in his comm. on *Stuti-kusumāñjali*.

2 *Cat. Cat.* i. 32b.

3 *ZDMG* lxii, 291 : cf Harichand Sastri, *op. cit.* pp. 105-106.

the anonymous commentator refers in it to his other works, the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 32) and *Harṣacarita-vārttika* (p. 44, 50), which we know to be two works of Ruyyaka referred to by himself in his *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and mentioned by Jayaratha. He refers in this work also to the *Candrikā* (on the *Dhvanyāloka*), *Kāvya-kautuka* (p. 13), *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* (pp. 1, 13), and Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* (pp. 16, 32, 36, 44).

(6) *Nāṭaka-mīmāṃsā* referred to as his own in the above commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa (p. 32).

(7) *Harṣacarita-vārttika* referred to as his own in *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* p. 61 and in *Vyaktiviveka-vyākhyāna* p. 44, 50.

(8) *Sahṛdaya-līlā*, edited in the Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 5, as well as by Pischel (Kiel 1886, along with Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*). The work consists of four Ullekhas: (i) Guṇa, describing the ten excellences (Rūpa, Varṇa, Prabhā etc.) of a woman (ii) Alaṃkāra, speaking of ornaments of gold, pearls etc, unguents, flowers worn by a woman (iii) Jīvita, dealing with youth which is the essence of womanly charm, and (iv) Parikara, treating of the parapharnelia of beauty.

(9) *Alaṃkāra-vārttika*, cited as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 71.

(10) *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava* cited as *madīya* in *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* p. 19.

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON RUYYAKA

Alaka (or *Alaṭa*?)

This commentator is referred to by Ratnakaṇṭha in his own commentary on Mammaṭa[1], the name given being Rājānaka Alaka. We have seen that the identification of Mammaṭa's continuator Alaka, Alaṭa or Allaṭa with this commentator is open to doubt[2], and nothing more can be said on the subject until his commentary is recovered.

1 Peterson, *Report* ii, p. 17 f. See above p. 169.

2 See above p. 149f.

Jayaratha

His commentary is called *Alaṃkāra-vimarśinī*. He informs us that his father's name was Śṛṅgāra, and his patron was king Rājarāja. From his commentary °*Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, we learn that the full name of his father was Śṛṅgāraratha, who had two sons named Jayaratha and Jayadratha[1]. He also tells us that he was a pupil of Śaṅkhadhara and Śiva. Jayaratha's pedigree is given at some length in his °*Viveka*, and we learn that his great-grandfather's brother was Śivaratha[2], who was a minister of king Ucchala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.). As four generations intervene between the minister of Ucchala and Jayaratha, Bühler thinks that the latter lived in the beginning of the 13th century. Jacobi supports this conclusion and attempts to arrive at greater precision by identifying Jayaratha's (and his father's) patron king Rājarāja with Rājadeva who is mentioned by Jonarāja in 2 *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* v. 79-91, and who lived in 1203-1226 A.D.[3]

The citations in Jayaratha are numerous, and include the names of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the Dhvanikāra (=Ānandavardhana), the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, Abhinavagupta, the Vyaktiviveka-kāra, Bhoja and Mammaṭa.

1 The Kashmirian MSS of the *Alaṃkāra-vimarśinī* examined by Bühler vacillate between these two names as the name of our author; and Peterson's MS of Ratnakaṇṭha's *Sāra-samuccaya* reads Jayadratha (ii p. 17), which is accepted by Aufrecht, although the published texts of the °*Vimarśinī*, as well as the °*Viveka*, have Jayaratha, which Bühler himself considers (*op. cit.* p. 68) to be the correct name of the author of the two commentaries, the other being that of his brother.—Jayadratha wrote a Kāvya in 32 cantos, named *Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi* (ed. NSP, Bombay 1897)

2 v. 22; see the extract given in Bühler *op. cit.* App. pp. cli f. This Śivaratha is mentioned in *Rāja-taraṅg*° viii. 111.

3 Jacob (*JRAS*, 1897, p. 283) came to the conclusion that Jayaratha must be placed later than the end of 12th century, for he quotes (p. 64) from the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, a poem dealing with Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi who fell in 1193 A. D. (cf Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 62).

Besides citing his own author's other works and Rājānaka Tilaka's work on Udbhaṭa, Jayaratha also mentions some other works on Alaṃkāra unknown to us, viz. *Alaṃkāra-sūtra* (p. 150), *Alaṃkāra-bhāṣya* (pp. 35, 46, 83, 138, 173) and *Alaṃkāra-sāra* (pp. 88, 97. 171, 172, 184), as well as an *Alaṃkāra-vārttika* (p. 71) ascribed to Ruyyaka. The *Alaṃkāra-bhāṣya* is also cited by Jagannātha (pp. 239, 365) ; while a work bearing the name *Alaṃkāra-sāra* is mentioned in Kielhorn's list[1] and in Peterson iii, App. p. 393 ; but this is probably a later work attributed to Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa who also wrote a commentary on Appayya's *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (*q. v.*) and was thus later than the end of the 16th century[2]. The °*Vimarśinī* is, in its turn, cited extensively by Jagannātha (pp, 325, 327, 352, 380, 387, 414, 418), chiefly because Appayya, against whom Jagannātha's attacks are primarily directed, follows Ruyyaka and Jayaratha pretty slavishly.

Jayaratha appears also to have written another work on Poetics called *Alaṃkārodāharaṇa*,[3] in the concluding verse of which he refers to his °*Vimarśinī*. It appears from the résumé of the work given in Mitra 2442 that it was chiefly meant to adduce illustrations to Ruyyaka's text, which the limited scope of his °*Vimarśinī* did not allow him to do properly.

Samudrabandha

Samudrabandha flourished, as he himself tells us, in the time of Ravivarman, *alias* Saṃgrāmadhīra, king of Kolamba (Quilon) in the Kerala country (Malabar), and there are numerous illustrative verses in the commentary itself, which sing the praise of this king[4]. This king was born in 1266-67 A.D.

1 Kielhorn's List 18 ; see also Aufrecht i. 32b.

2 But see Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, p 765 ; *contra* Jacobi in *ZDMG* xlii 293.

3 See *Jammu Cat.* no. 806, p. 59.

4 e. g. pp. 48, 58, 76, 133, 149 (*kolambādhipati*) etc. For Ravivarman and Samudrabandha, see K. Kunjunni Raja, *op. cit.* pp. 211-13.

and crowned himself as king of Malabar on the banks of the Vegavatī in 1312-13 A.D. ; so that Samudrabandha may be taken to have flourished towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

The citations from earlier authors are not so numerous in Samudrabandha, but he shows his familiarity with Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja and Mammaṭa. He also cites Udbhaṭa's *vṛtti*, presumably on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. He refers to the explanation of other commentators of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (pp. 55, 96, 145, 239) and discusses readings (p. 57).

Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin

A commentary, called *°Saṃjīvanī* or *Alaṃkāra-saṃjīvanī* on Ruyyaka is cited by Mallinātha[1] and Kumārasvāmin[2], Appayya[3] and Viśveśvara[4]. They apparently refer to the author of this commentary by citing Cakravartin ; for the two verses[5], cited by them, are attributed to this commentator by Kumārasvāmin, whose other references show that Cakravartin wrote a *°Saṃjīvanī* commentary on the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*. This Cakravartin, who is to be distinguished from Paramānanda Cakravartin, appears to be identical with Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin, two MSS of whose commentary on Ruyyaka, called *°Saṃjīvanī*, are noticed in the *Madras Catalogue*[6]. This commentary refers to and is referred to by the same

1 pp. 31, 57, 221, 237, 324.

2 pp. 54 (Cakravartin as commentator on *Alam. sarvasva*), 319, 377, 383 (*°Saṃjīvanī* as a comm. on *Alam. sarv.*), 387, 393. 398, 435, 449-50, 465.

3 *Citr. mīm.* pp. 7, 74.

4 *Alaṃ. kaust.* p. 11.

5 as cited above = *Ratnāpaṇa* p. 378.

6 xit, no. 12799-12800, pp. 8609-10. Jacobi wrongly conjectured Alaka to be the author of this *°Saṃjīvanī* (*ZDMG* lxii, p. 292).

author's *Saṃpradāya-prakāśinī Bṛhatī Ṭīkā* on Mammaṭa[1], and both the commentaries are mentioned together at the close of the former work thus:

kāvyaprakāśe'laṃkārasarvasve ca vipaścitām |
atyādaro jagaty asmin, vyākhyātam ubhayaṃ tataḥ | |,

which indicates the popularity of the works of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka in later times. Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin calls his author Rucaka. He refers to Viśvanātha as *sāṃdhivigrahika*. He is evidently a South Indian writer, belonging to the Śaiva Saṃpradāya or Śaiva sect[2]. The reference by Mallinātha should place him chronologically earlier than the end of the 14th century. He appears to have flourished in the court of Vīra Vallāla III (Hoysala) in the beginning of the 14th century (V. Raghavan in *ABORI* xiv, 1933, p. 256). A *Rasa-mīmāṃsā*[3] is also ascribed to Vidyā-Cakravartin, as well as a *Bharata-saṃgraha* on Dramaturgy and Rasa (*ABORI*, xiv, 1933, p. 257).

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1 *ibid*, no. 12826-28, p. 8627; Burnell 55a. Ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926; see above p. 162. He also wrote a *Laghu-Ṭīkā* prior to his writing of the *Bṛhatī Ṭīkā* in which this comm. is referred to. Only one of these commentaries has been published in the Trivandrum ed.

2 The Saṃpradāya-mata or Sāṃpradāyikas are quoted by Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (before 1583 A. D.) at pp. 11, 13, 32.

3 See V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xvi, 1934-35, p. 140. It is mentioned by Vidyā-Cakravartin himself in his comm. on Ruyyaka (*rasa-mīmāṃsāyaṃ vistaraḥ*), but it is not clear whether it is a separate work.

Commentaries. (1) *Alaṃkāra-vimarśinī* of Jayaratha, ed. with text in Nir. Sag. Press, as above, 1893. On MSS of *Alaṃkārodāharaṇa* see Aufrecht i. 32a, 773a, ii. 6b; *WBod* 1157. (2) °*Vṛtti* of Samudrabandha, ed. with text in Trivandrum Sank. Series 1915, as above. (3) °*Saṃjīvanī* of Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12799-12800; Aufrecht i. 32b. Not yet published.

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HEMACANDRA AND THE VĀGBHAṬAS

(1)

The versatile and volumious Jaina writer Hemacandra directed his many-sided activity to the field of Sanskrit Poetics as well, and wrote a *Kāvyānuśāsana* with its *Vṛtti* named *Alaṃkāra-cūḍāmaṇi* and a glass called *Viveka*, basing it chiefly on Mammaṭa's work, but appropriating his materials from various sources[1]. While as a textbook it hardly super-

1 He appropriates, for instance, long passages, without acknowledgment, from Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, Mammaṭa and others. A passage in *Abhinava-bhāratī* on Bharata ch. iv is copied (Hemacandra pp. 57-66) almost literally with only a general acknowledgment at conclusion: *iti śrīmān abhinavaguptācāryaḥ, etanmatam evāsmābhir upajīvitaṃ veditavyam* (p. 66). In the Vṛtti, again, at p. 83, his remarks on the *sthāyi-bhāva* (pp. 83-84) are copied from the same source. His extensive appropriation from Rājaśekhara has been already alluded to; see p. 118 above. At p. 316 he calls himself a follower of Bharata's views (*bharata-matānusārī*). His dependence on earlier works is so close as to amount at times to almost slavish imitation or plagiarism.

sedes the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, it is, like most of Hemacandra's other productions, more or less an industrious compilation, displaying its author's encyclopaedic erudition, but hardly constituting an original contribution to the subject.

About Hemacandra and his time, we know perhaps more than we do with regard to other writers on Poetics, and the biographical and other details will be found collected together in Bühler's erudite little pamphlet on this author[1]. Hemacandra was born at Dhunduka or Dhandhukā (in Ahmedabad) on the full-moon night of the month of Kārttika in the Saṃvat year 1145=1088 A.D. of humble Bania parents, named Caciga and Pāhini. He was originally named Caṅgadeva. He was initiated as a Jaina monk in Saṃvat 1150=1093 A.D., taking the name of Somānanda. He was a pupil of Devacandra of Vajra-śākhā, author of the *Sthānaka-vṛtti* and the *Śāntinātha-carita.* He became a *sūri* or *ācārya* in Saṃvat 1166=1109 A.D. changing his name, again, into Hemacandra. He spent the greater part of his life, as the acknowledged head of the Jaina community at Aṇahilla-pattana, under the patronage of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A. D.) and his successor Kumārapāla of Gujarat (1143-1172 A.D), dying shortly before the latter is Saṃvat 1229=1172 A. D. at the ripe old age of 84 years. He wrote most of his works at the request of his patrons, of whom he converted Kumārapāla into Jainism in Saṃvat 1216=1160 A.D.

Hemacandra wrote voluminous works on many branches of Sanskrit learning, such as grammar (*Siddha-hemacandra, Śabdānuśāsana, Liṅgānuśāsana, Dhātu-pārāyaṇa* and *Uṇādi-sūtra*), prosody (*Chandonuśāsana*), lexicon (*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi, Anekārtha-saṃgraha, Nighaṇṭu-śeṣa,* and *Deśī-nāma-mālā*), besides works on Jaina Śastra. His stupendous learning justifies his sobriquet Kalikāla-Sarvajña. His *Kāvyānuśā-*

1 *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra,* Wien 1889; trs. into English by Manilal Patel in the Singhi Jaina Series 1936. See also Jacobi in *Ency. of Religion and Ethics,* vi. 591.

sana in eight Adhyāyas has the merit of comprehending all topis of Poetics, including a brief reference to Dramaturgy. In spite of occasional differences Hemacandra borrows freely from Bharata, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa and Rājaśekhara. Its want of any striking originality perhaps stood on the way of its being accepted as an authoritative work. It exercised little influence on later writers and is scarcely ever quoted[1]. It is written in the form of Sūtra and Vṛtti.[2]

(2)

There are two Vāgbhaṭas in Sanskrit Poetics who must be distinguished from each other, viz. Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* (here cited as Vāgbhaṭa I) and Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and its Vṛtti, *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* (here cited as Vāgbhaṭa II). Eggeling[3] falls into the error of confounding the two and assigning both the works to the same author. From the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* iv. 148, we learn that the Jaina name in the Prakrit form of the author is Bāhaḍa and that he was son of Soma[4]. From the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and its commentary[5], on the other hand, we learn that its author was son of Nemikumāra and Mahā-(mahī?-) devī or Vasundharā; while his native town, called Rāhaḍapura from the shrine of a deity of that name, is mentioned[6], as well as described in a verse by the author himself[7].

1 Except, as P. V. Kane notes (*HSP*, p. 278), by *Ratnāpaṇa* pp. 46, 75, 224, 233, 259, 299.

2 For summary of the topics of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* see below vol. ii, ch. vii (6).

3 *IOC* iii, pp. 330-1.

4 So also in Jinavardhana, Siṃhadeva and Kṣemahaṃsa-gaṇi's comms. on this verse.

5 p. 1 *vṛtti*, and the concluding verse.

6 p. 1 *vṛtti*.

7 *IOC* iii, p. 332. In the Nir. Sag. Press edition of the work, this verse is also given at p. 10, but the words *asmābhir uktam*, preceding it in the India Office MS, are wanting.

Vāgbhaṭa II also appears to cite Vāgbhaṭa I as one of his authorities[1]. Both the Vāgbhaṭas, however, quote from the poet Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa*, Vāgbhaṭa II citing the poem by name frequently for the purpose of illustrating the characteristics of a good poem (e g. p. 16)[2]. Vāgbhaṭa I may or may not be identical with the poet of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa* ; but Vāgbhaṭa II should be distinguished from both[3]. We must also distinguish the medical writer Vāgbhaṭa, son of Siṃhagupta.

Vāgbhaṭa I seems to have been contemporaneous with Hemacandra, and lived under Cālukya Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Aṇahilla-pattana[4], who flourished from 1094 to 1143 A. D. We have references to this king and his capital in iv. 45, 76, 81, 85 and 132, and he is described as son of king Karṇadeva. Both Jinavardhana Sūri and Siṃhadeva Gaṇi in their commentaries explain that the prince referred to is Jayasiṃha, son of Karṇadeva, of Aṇahilla-pāṭaka. It also appears from what Siṃhadeva Gaṇi on iv. 148 says that Vāgbhaṭa was probably a *mahāmātya* of the said prince, a statement which is supported by the description given of our author in Prabhācandra Sūri's *Prabhāvaka-carita*[5] (p. 205).

1 ii, p. 31: *iti daṇḍi-vāmana-vāgbhaṭādi-praṇītā daśa kāvya-guṇāḥ, vayaṃ tu mādhuryaujaḥ-prasāda-lakṣaṇāṁs trīneva guṇān manyāmahe*.

2 The verses quoted in *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* from the *Nemi-nirvāṇa* are given by Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 309.

3 Winternitz thinks (*Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* ii, p. 338 fn 1 ; iii, p. 22 fn 1, also iii, p. 642) that Vāgbhaṭa I is the same as the poet of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa*.—Jahlaṇa ascribes the verse *anālocya premṇaḥ* to one Vāgbhaṭa, but it does not occur in any of these Vāgbhaṭas. It occurs, however, in Amaru 80. It is cited anonymously by Vallabhadeva 1170 ; while in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* it is attributed to Rājaśekhara, and in *Kavīndra-vacana* 372 to the poetess Vikaṭanitambā.

4 And not Jayasiṃha of Kashmir, as Harichand (p. 49) erroneously gives it.

5 Second half of the 13th century, see Bühler's *Hemacandra* note 1 ; also *Vāgbhaṭālaṃ°* (ed. Kāvyamālā 1916) p. 1-2 fn.

from which we also learn that Vāgbhaṭa was living in 1123 A. D. and also in 1157 A.D. Vāgbhaṭa's literary activity, therefore, may be assigned roughly to the first half of the 12th century.

The *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra*, consisting of five Paricchedas, covers in 260 verses most of the topics of Poetics, but excludes Dramaturgy. Although it claims a large number of commentaries, it is a small compilation of no superior merit. It speaks of ten Guṇas instead of three of Mammaṭa and Hemacandra, and only two Rītis, namely Vaidarbha and Gauḍīya. Weber's Berlin MS no. 1718 adds a sixth chapter; see also Burnell, *Cat. Tanjore MSS*, p. 576.

Vāgbhaṭa II appears to be a later writer. His reference to Vāgbhaṭa I and considerable borrowing from Hemacandra give us one limit to his date. The other terminus[1] is unknown; for the Jaina authors (excepting Hemacandra) are rarely quoted by later writers on the subject. He may have been earlier than Deveśvara, whose borrowings, however, are not conclusive enough for any chronological inference. Vāgbhaṭa II himself cites two of his own works, viz. *Ṛṣabhadeva-carita* (p. 15, called a *mahākāvya*) and *Chandonuśāsana* (p. 20); but of these nothing is known. In two illustrative verses there are references to two princes called Mūlarāja (p. 45) and Vibhākara (p. 44). This Vibhākara is unknown, but Mūlarāja appears to be the same as the founder of the Cālukya dynasty at Aṇahilla-pattana (=Anhilvāḍ) in Gujarat[2]. A MS of *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Eggeling, *Ind. Office Cat.* no. 1157) is dated in Saṃvat 1515 (=1458-59 A.D.). Vāgbhaṭa II probably flourished in the 14th century.

Like Hemacandra's work of the same name, the *Kāvyānu-*

1 Harichand Sastri (*op. cit.* p. 49) places him in the 13th century, but he does not state the grounds of his opinion.

2 Peterson notes (iii, App. p. 124) a reference in the *puṣpikā* of a MS of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalāka-puruṣa* to one Nemikumāra, who flourished in Saṃvat 1295, and he queries whether this Nemikumāra was our Vāgbhaṭa's father (iv, p. lxxi).

śāsana of Vāgbhaṭa II is written in the form of Sūtra and a running commentary ; but it is a much smaller work of five Adhyāyas. It covers most topics of Poetics but there is no treatment of dramaturgy. It speaks, however, of three Guṇas and three Rītis after Mammaṭa. The name and definition of poetic figures in these Jaina writers differ in some cases from those of orthodox authors. They do not exceed 40 in number, but Vāgbhaṭa II gives nearly 70 poetic figures.

(3)

No commentaries on Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa II is known, but the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra*[1] of Vāgbhaṭa I appears to have been fortunate in this respect. Of the commentators on this work, whose names are noted below, Jinavardhana Sūri and Siṃhadeva Gaṇi are better known, and their commentaries have been published. Jinavardhana was pupil of Jinarāja Sūri and was a priest of Kharatara-gaccha from about 1405 to 1419 A.D.[2]. In some catalogues (e.g. Mitra 2814), his name is given as Ādinātha.

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Vāgbhaṭa I

Editions. *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* (1) ed. by A. Borooah, Calcutta

1 The published text of this work contains five chapters, which is also the number in the Bodleian, Stein, Madras and India Office MSS ; but Weber's MS (no. 1718) adds a sixth chapter, which appears to deal with the figure *yamaka*.

2 Klatt in *IA* xi p. 249 ; Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1882-3, p. 25 ; *IOC* iii, no. 1156 and 2656a.

1883. (2) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab (with Siṃhadeva Gaṇi's comm.), Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1895, 1915 (our references are to the ed. of 1915). (3) by Jivananda Vidyasagar, 3rd ed. Calcutta 1903, (4) by Murtidhara, Venkatesvara Press, Bombay. (5) with an old gloss, by Ksemaraja Srikrishnadasa, Bombay 1894. (6) Granthamālā iii, 1889-90 (with Jinavardhana's comm.).

Commentaries. (1) by Jinavardhana Sūri, who was a priest of Kharatara-gaccha from about 1405 to 1419. Ed. with the text in Granthamālā iii, as noted above. Ādinātha in Mitra 2814 (Aufrecht i. 559a) is the same as Jinavardhana. A MS copied in Saṃvat 1610 =1553-54 A.D. (*Cat. MSS BORI* xii, p. 323).

(2) By Siṃhadeva Gaṇi, ed. NSP, Bombay, as noted. In *ALeip* MS no. 824, p. 269, the commentary is called *Cūrṇī*. But this name is not found in Jammu MS no. 1231, p. 274.

(3) By Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra, who was a pupil of Jinacandra. His comm. was composed in Ahmedabad for Harirāma in 1636 A. D. See Peterson iv, p. cxxvi. Also wrote a comm. on *Raghu*.

(4) By Rājahaṃsa Upādhyāya, pupil of Jinatilaka Sūri who was a pupil of Jinaprabha Sūri of Kharatara-gaccha. The MS noticed by Bhandarkar (*Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156, 279) was copied in Saṃvat 1486=1430 A.D. See P. K. Gode's note in *Calcutta Orient. Journal* ii, pp. 312-14, in which he gives 2nd half of 14th century (between 1350 and 1400 A. D.) as the probable date of this commentary.

(5) *Samāsānvaya Ṭippaṇa* by Kṣemahaṃsa Gaṇi. Extract in Stein p. 274.

(6) *Vivaraṇa* of Gaṇeśa, son of Anantabhaṭṭa and disciple of Bhāskara. Aufrecht i. 559a, 794a ; *IOC* iii, no. 1155/702b, p. 330. A MS copied in 1713 A.D.

(7) *Avacūri*. Author's name unknown. Aufrecht ii. 132a, iii. 118b.

(8) *Jñāna-pramodikā* of Vācanācārya Jñānapramoda-gaṇi,

composed in Saṃvat 1681 (=1624-25). See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Literary Hist.* i, p. 76.

Vāgbhaṭa II

Edition. *Kāvyānuśāsana*, by Sivadatta and K. P. Parab. NSP, Bombay 1894, 1915 with *Alaṃkāra-tilaka*.

JAYADEVA

(1)

Jayadeva, author of the popular text-book *Candrāloka*, is otherwise known as Pīyūṣavarṣa (i. 2)[1]. He himself gives us the names of his parents as Mahādeva and Sumitrā (i. 16). The name Jayadeva, however, is borne by our author in common with many other Sanskrit writers. Of the fifteen or more different persons, mentioned by Aufrecht, as bearing the same name, it seems likely that our author is identical with the poet who wrote the well-known drama called the *Prasanna-rāghava*; for in the prologue to that drama there are two verses (i. 14-15) which inform us that the dramatist was also son of Mahādeva of the Kauṇḍinya-gotra and Sumitrā, a coincidence of names which does not seem to be accidental. Aufrecht, however, identifies[2] our author with Jayadeva who composed the well-known lyric named *Gīta-govinda*; but apart from all arguments derived from the style and poetic genius of the two writers, which possess few kindred excellences, the fact that the author of the lyric, in one of his

1 Also in a verse given at the end in some MSS, e.g. Peterson ii, p. 109, *Madras Cat.* xxii, p. 8656 : *pīyūṣavarṣa-prabhavaṃ candrālokam manoharam* etc. Also the verse *jayanti yājñika-śrīman-mahādevāṅga-janmanaḥ / sūkti-pīyūṣa-varṣasya jayadeva-kaver giraḥ*, commented on in the *Śaradāgama* and the *Rākāgama* comms. These verses are wanting in the Calcutta ed. The *Rākāgama* comm. of Gāgābhaṭṭa expressly states: *Jayadevasyaiva pīyūṣavarṣa iti nāmāntaram*.

2 *ZDMG* xxvii, p. 30.

concluding verses,[1] tells us that he was son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī (or Vāmādevī or Rādhādevī, according to other readings) stands seriously against the proposed identification. The identity of Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara, also called Jayadeva, is equally doubtful, and Aufrecht mentions the two names separately. The name Pakṣadhara, no doubt, was a mere title given to the logician from the circumstance of his having been able to maintain by subtle reasoning whatever side of a question he undertook to defend ; but the argument for his identity with our Jayadeva, relied on by Hall[2], that Jayadeva in his drama refers (i. 18) to his knowledge of *pramāṇa*, befitting a logician, is hardly convincing and sufficient[3].

(2)

The date of Jayadeva yet remains unsettled. There is hardly any doubt, however, that he should be placed earlier than Keśava Miśra, who cites (p. 47) the verse *kadalī kadalī* from the *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 37). As Keśava flourished in the middle of the 16th century, we may safely assign Jayadeva to a period earlier than that. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the *Śaradāgama* commentary on the *Candrāloka*, was composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A.D.[4], under the patronage of a Bundella prince, named Vīrabhadra, of the Vaghela dynasty, who himself wrote a commentary on Vāt-

1 xii, p. 171, ed. N. S. P. 1917. It is not commented upon by Kumbha in his *Rasika-priyā* comm., but Śaṃkara, in his *Rasa-mañjarī* comm. says: *adhunā pitṛ-mātṛ-nāma nibadhnan prāthayate sajjanān* (ed. N. S. P. *loc. cit*). The same in the colophon in Bühler's MSS (*Kashmir Rep*. p. 46), where read Rāmādevī for Rāmadeva.

2 Introd. to *Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* (Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1956), pp. 62-63. Keith (*Indian Logic* p. 33f) appears to accept the identification.

3 Jayadeva, author of a manual on Erotics, called *Rati-mañjarī* in 60 verses (ed. in Haeberlin and by Pavolini in *Giornale della Soc. Asiat. Italiana*, 1904 pp. 371f) is probably a different and later writer.

4 *AFl* no. 467 (51) p. 158 ; *ALeip* no. 820, p. 268.

syāyana (called *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*) in Saṃvat 1633=1577 A.D.[1] We may push this limit to the date of Jayadeva's work back to the beginning of the 14th century, because some verses from the *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 19 and 33)[2] are quoted in *Śārangadhara-paddhati* (164 and 3520), compiled in 1363 A.D. ; while Śiṅgabhūpāla, whose date has been fixed at 1330 A.D., cites the drama itself in his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (pp. 258, 277). This gives us one terminus to the date of Jayadeva in the first quarter of the 14th century[3].

The other terminus is given by the inference that Jayadeva is later than Ruyyaka ; for in his *Candrāloka* he directly adopts some of the original definitions of poetic figures given for the first time by Ruyyaka. The figure Vikalpa, for instance, which (as both Ruyyaka himself and Jayaratha inform us)[4] was invented and defined for the first time by Ruyyaka,

1 Peterson ii, pp, 66, 132 ; iv, p. cxvi. Ed. Rama Chandra Sastri, Lahore 1926.

2 Other varses quoted are ii. 22 (=3557), vii. 59 (=3626), vii. 60 (=3631).

3 Paranjpe and Panse in their edition (Poona 1894) of the drama *Prasanna-rāghava* (p. xiii f) seek to identify Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara Jayadeva and assign him to a period between 1500 and 1577 A.D. So also Peterson in introd. to *Subhāṣ°* p. 37f. Cf also Eggeling *IOC* iii, pp. 332f. Winternitz (*Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* iii, p. 26. fn 3) thinks that Jayadeva could not have written long before Appayya. But all these scholars appear to have overlooked this quotation in Śāraṅgadhara. No chronological conclusion is inferable from Jayadeva's mention of the poet Cora ; for Bühler's identification of this poet with Bihlaṇa is not free from doubt (see Solf, *Die Kashmir Recension der Pañcāśikā*, Kiel 1886, p. xxi f ; also see on the question S. K. De, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, Calcutta 1947, pp. 368-69. Nor should stress be laid on the fact that verses from the *Prasanna-rāghava* occur in the *Mahānāṭaka* ; for the date of the latter, as well as its proper text, cannot be taken to have been satisfactorily settled (see Lévi ii, p. 48 ; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* pp. 88-9). Jayadeva himself, as a rhetorician, is quoted by very late writers like Appayya, Keśava and Bhīmasena.

4 Cf Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxii, p. 600, note 1. Ruyyaka says expressly

is literally copied by Jayadeva (v. 112). We cannot, therefore, place Jayadeva, who upholds the views peculiar to Ruyyaka as well as Mammaṭa, earlier than the second half of the 12th century.

Jayadeva, therefore, should be assigned to the period between the last quarter of the 12th century and the first quarter of the 14th, a closer approximation than which is not possible at present ; but perhaps we may tentatively place him in the first half of the 13th century.

(3)

The *Candrāloka* is a general treatise on Poetics in ten chapters (called *mayūkhas*) and about 350 verses, written in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The Calcutta edition of the text, published in 1874[1], enumerates the following divisions: (1) Vāgvicāra (*śl.* 16). (2) Doṣa-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 44½). (3) Lakṣaṇa-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 11). (4) Guṇa-nirūpaṇa, given as ten in number (*śl.* 12). (5) Alaṃkāra-nirūpaṇa, consisting of Śabdālaṃkāras (*śl.* 10), Alaṃkārānukramaṇikā (*śl.* 16) and Arthālaṃkāras (*śl.* 174). (6) Rasādi-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 24), incidentally dealing with three Rītis and five Vṛttis. (7) Dhvani-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 18). (8) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya (*śl.* 10). (9) Lakṣaṇā-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 15). (10) Abhidhā-nirūpaṇa (*śl.* 4). This arrangement is substantially followed in the Leipzig MS 819 (which contains only five *mayūkhas*) and correspond closely with the arrangement mentioned by Gaṅgādhara in his commentary (p. 9) on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, where the chapters are given thus: 1. Śabda-mayūkha. 2. Doṣa-mayūkha. 3. Lakṣaṇa-mayūkha. 4. Guṇa-

with regard to this figure : *pūrvair akṛta-viveko'tra darśita ity avagantavyam*, upon which Jayaratha remarks: *anenāsya granthakṛd-upajñatvam eva darśitam* (p. 159). Also the figure Vicitra (Ruyyaka p. 133= Jayadeva v. 82).

1 The Calcutta edition (by Jivananda) of 1906 substantially keeps to this arrangement and numbering of verses in the different chapters. The work contains about 300 verses, but the numbering differs to some extent in the different editions. The author gives his own illustrations.

mayūka. 5. Alaṃkāra-mayūkha. 6. Rasa-mayūkha. 7. Dhvani-mayūkha. 8. Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya-mayūkha. 9. Lakṣaṇā-mayūkha and 10. Tatśakti (=Abhidhā)-mayūkha[1].

It will be seen from this that the section on Arthālaṃkāra in chapter v is the most considerable part of the work, which appears to have become, to the exclusion of the rest of the work, a popular manual of poetic figures. It was specially adapted for this purpose by Appayya Dīkṣita's *Kuvalayānanda*, which bodily incorporates the Kārikās of this section (with only slight modification), himself only writing the running prose commentary and adding a few supplementary figures. This work of Appayya's, therefore, may be regarded, in a sense, as a commentary on the Arthālaṃkāra-chapter of the *Candrāloka*. Appayya himself indicates his indebtedness in one of the prefatory verses[2] by saying that the definition-stanzas of the *Candrāloka* are borrowed in his own work, but there are a few modifications and additions[3] of his own. He also explains in the concluding verse how his work came to be called *Kuvalayānanda* (lit. 'delight of lotuses') from the *Candrāloka* (lit. 'the sight or light of the moon'):

candrāloko vijayatām, śaradāgama-saṃbhavaḥ /
hṛdyaḥ kuvalayānando yat-prasādād abhūd ayam,

which, apart from the obvious pun involved, praises the *Candrāloka*, the cause of its commentary called *Śaradāgama*, from the contact of both of which the charming *Kuvalayānanda* originated. This *Śaradāgama* commentary obviously

1 The text as commented upon by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa, Gāgābhaṭṭa and Vaidyanātha (*Madras Cat.* xii, 12876-78) contains ten *mayūkhas*. MSS of the complete text noticed also in Mitra ii p. 177, v p. 103, ix p 184 : Peterson ii 109.

2 *yeṣāṃ candrāloke dṛśyante lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-ślokāḥ / prāyas ta eva, teṣām itareṣāṃ tvabhinavā viracyante.*

3 The differences of reading in the Kārikās are noted in Halasynatha Sastri's ed. of *Kuvalayānanda* (with the *Rasika-rañjanī* of Gaṅgādhara), Kumbhakonum 1892.

refers to the commentary of the same name on the *Candrāloka*, composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A. D.[1].

But on account of the wholesale appropriation of this chapter of Jayadeva's work, the title *Candrāloka* appears to have been frequently applied to the Arthālaṃkāra-section of the work[2] alone, as well as to Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*[3] itself. Thus, the India Office MS 2656, Weber 1721 and Madras MSS 12871-74 constitute in reality the Arthālaṃkāra-section of the *Candrāloka*, embodied in the *Kuvalayānanda*, and not the whole text, but they are entitled *Candrāloka*. Appayya's work does not end with the hundred or 108 poetic figures[4] dealt with by Jayadeva, but it adds a supplementary chapter on a few additional figures. In some texts of the

1 Vaidyanātha, apparently ignorant of the existence of the *Śaradāgama* commentary, interprets (ed. N. S. P. 1917 p. 188) the phrase *śaradāgama-saṃbhavaḥ* as referring to some previous original of the *Candrāloka* itself. An instance of similar ignorance on the part of the commentator is given by the story of Āśādhara in his comm. on the *Kuvalay°* (p. 86) that Appayya composed the *Candrāloka* itself at the request of the king of Veṅkaṭagiri, and later on wrote his *Kuvalay°* on its basis. Gaṅgādhara, a more reliable commentator on Appayya's work (who tells us that Appayya was the Guru of a brother of his grandfather) interprets the phrase correctly as: *atra candrāloka-nāmā granthaḥ śaradāgama-nāmnā ṭīkā-granthena saṃbhava utpattiḥ* (p. 283). The supposition (*ŚgŚ* ii, pp. 68-9) that Appayya's utilisation of Jayadeva's work was resented by the latter, who is said to have made a veiled reference to this fact in the prologue to the *Prasanna-rāghava* (where the stage-manager alludes to the stealing of his name) is disproved by the fact that Appayya lived long after Jayadeva.

2 Cf. Gaṅgādhara on *Kuvalay°* p. 9: *candrāloko'rthālaṃkārātmaka eva, na tvanya iti keṣāṃcid bhramaḥ.*

3 Thus, Regnaud (*Rhétorique Sanskrite* p. 375) speaks of the *Candrāloka* as being composed of 151 *ślokas*, dealing with the definition and illustration of poetic figures, which description applies to the *Kuvalay°*.

4 This is not the largest number of poetic figures enumerated and defined in works on Alaṃkāra. Mammaṭa defines 61, Ruyyaka 75 Arthālaṃkāras; but Sobhākaramitra gives 109, Appayya Dīkṣita 115 Alaṃkāras, which go on multiplying!

Candrāloka this appears to have been erroneously included. A considerable confusion is also noticeable in the different MSS of Jayadeva's and Appayya's works as to the arrangement of the three opening verses, as well as with regard to the total number of Ślokas contained in the Arthālaṃkāra-section. The verse *paraspara-tapaḥ-saṃpat°* occurs in most accepted texts of this section of the *Candrāloka*, but it is not intelligible why Jayadeva should add this benedictory verse in a chapter, which occurs in the middle of the book. Gaṅgādhara pointedly remarks that this verse is not Jayadeva's but was composed by Appayya himself as prefatory to his own work[1].

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON JAYADEVA

Of the commentators on the *Candrāloka*, mention has already been made of Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa (*alias* Padmanābha Miśra) and his commentary, called *Candrāloka prakāśa Śaradāgama.* He is described as son of Miśra Balabhadra, and his patron's name is given as Vīrabhadra (or °rudra)-deva, son of Rāmacandra and grandson of Vīrabhānu, king of Ayodhya, of the Vaghela (Vandella)[2] family. His commentary is dated in 1583 A. D.; while his patron lived in the second half of the 16th century, as we find Vīrabhadra's commentary (called *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*) on Vātsyāyana is dated in 1577 A.D. Vīrabhadra is said to have murdered Abul Fazl at the instigation of Prince Selim His Court-pandit

1 Gaṅgādhara *op. cit.* p. 9: "*tathā paraspara-tapaḥsaṃpat*" *iti candrāloka-nāndī-śloka ity api bhrama eva* ; *pañcama-mayūkhe śadhālaṃkārān nirūpya* "*upamā yatra sādṛśya*" *ityādinā arthālaṃkāra-prastāve nāndyā evābhāvāt.* The same remark applies apparently to the second verse *alaṃkārṣu bālānām* and to v. 174 which alludes to "Veṅkaṭaprabhu", for they appear to be Appayya's additions. Cf *IOC* iii, pp, 333-34 for a discussion of this point.

2 The Madras MS reads *vandella*, but the Florentine MS (*AFl* p. 158) has *vāghela.*

Mitra Miśra wrote the Viramitrodaya, in which he mentions his patron's name.

There is another commentary called *Ramā*[1] written by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, who is probably not identical with Vaidyanātha Tatsat, the commentator on Govinda's *Kāvya-pradīpa* and Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, although the two writers are taken as identical in most catalogues. The colophon to their commentaries distinctly make out their respective family-names as Pāyaguṇḍa and Tatsat; while in one of the introductory verses of the *Ramā* our Vaidyanātha distinctly calls himself Pāyaguṇḍa which is a well-known Mahārāṣṭra surname; but he does not give his own genealogy. He appears to have written a commentary called *Gadā* on Nāgojī's *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*; he must, therefore, be later than the beginning of the 18th century.

There is another less known commentary, called *Rākāgama* or °*Sudhā*, composed by Gāgābhaṭṭa, *alias* Viśveśvara, son of Dinakara (or Divākara) Bhaṭṭa, who was a Mīmāṃsaka. Viśveśvara, who also wrote a number of Mīmāṃsā and Smṛti works (Aufrecht i. 587b), was a great-great-grandson of Rāmeśvara, nephew of the well-known Mīmāṃsaka Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, whose date is the first quarter of the 17th century[1]. Viśveśvara, therefore, is a comparatively modern writer who probably flourished in the beginning of the

1 The name of his commentary is often given, through a confusion, as *Harilocana-candrikā* (Aufrecht i. 182a), which itself appears as a mistaken name for the *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* comm. of Vaidyanātha Tatsat on *Kuvalayānanda*; the mistake arising from the word *harilocana-candrikā* occurring in the benedictory verse to the latter commentary, as well as from this confusion between the commentators on Jayadeva and Appayya respectively. The benedictory verse runs thus: *anucintya mahālakṣmīṃ hari-locana-candrikām | kurve kuvalayānanda-sad-alaṃkāracāndrikām*. See under Appayya Dīkṣita for the commentary. To Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe, however, is ascribed a *Laghu Kuvalayānanda* (*BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 287, pp. 342-43).

2 see above p. 167. The genealogy is given thus: Rāmeśvara →Nārāyaṇa→Rāmakṛṣṇa→Dinakara→Viśveśvara.

18th century, and should not be confused with Viśveśvara, author of the *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* (*q. v.*).

Two other little known commentaries are mentioned below.

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MSS. *Madras Cat.* xii, 12860 (which contains the verses of the *Candrāloka* with *Kuvalay°*), 12871-73. Most of the MS mentioned in other catalogues (see Aufrecht), however, contain the Arthālaṃkāra-section and not the whole text, see above p. 201-2. The *Alaṃkāra-śataka* of Jayadeva in Oppert ii, 2763 is a descriptive name perhaps of this section

of the *Candrāloka*. The *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha* in Mitra 1612 is in reality this Arthālaṃkāra-section.

Commentaries. (1) *Candrāloka-prakāśa Śaradāgama* by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa. Ed. as above. See *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12878 for a description. (2) *Rākāgama* or *Sudhā* by Viśveśvara *alias* Gāgābhaṭṭa. Ed. as above. Gāgābhaṭṭa is known to have officiated at the coronation of Sivaji in 1674 A.D. His *Samaya-naya* was composed for king Sambhāji in 1680-81 A.D. (P. K. Gode in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1939, pp. 1166-71). He belonged to the famous Maratha Bhaṭṭa family of Benares. His father Dinakara was author of *Dinakaroddyota.* (3) *Ramā* by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa. Ed. as above. *Madras Cat.* xii 12876. (4) Comm. by Vājacandra. Aufrecht i. 182a. (5) °*Dīpikā*. Name of author unknown. Aufrecht i. 182a. (6) *Śārada-śarvarī* by Virūpākṣa. Hultzsch 1617 ; *Tanjore Cat.* ix 5221.

VIDYĀDHARA

(1)

The date of Vidyādhara, author of the *Ekāvalī*[1] has been fixed with sufficient approximation by K. P. Trivedi and R. G. Bhandarkar[2]. The latest writer quoted and mentioned by Vidyādhara is Ruyyaka (p. 150) ; and this gives us one

1 Aufrecht (i. 75) mentions three different works called *Ekāvalī*, which appear to be the same work. The first and the third are undoubtedly identical and refer to our *Ekāvalī* ; but the second is described by Burnell 54a (cf Oppert ii. 3605) as composed by Mahāmāheśvara Kavi. This, however, appears to be a title of Vidyādhara himself, and is apparently the source of the confusion of our Vidyādhara with Abhinavagupta who also bore the same title (see Weber ii, no. 1723). The colophon in the Madras MS (*Madras Cat.* xii, p. 8611) reads : *iti śrīmato mahāmāheśvarasya kaver vidyādharasya kṛtāvekāvalī-nāmny alaṃkāra-śāstre* etc. The first verse quoted in Burnell is the same as found in all the texts of our *Ekāvalī* The commentary *Taralā* noticed by Weber (*loc. cit.*) is apparently the same as *Taralā* of Mallinātha. The *Keli-rahasya* on Erotics is ascribed to Vidyādhara by Aufrecht, but the colophon gives the author's name as Vaidya Vidyādhara.

2 Introd to the text in B. S. S. ed. and Bhandarkar *Rep*, 1887-91, p. lxvi f.

terminus to his date at the middle of the 12th century. This conclusion is apparently supported by Vidyādhara's mention (p. 19) of Śrīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadha*, who lived very probably in the 12th century[1]; but Vidyādhara's allusion in the same context to the poet Harihara[2], who is said by him to have obtained amazing wealth from a prince Arjuna (presumably the ruler of Mālava of that name), puts this terminus a little lower at the first quarter of the 13th century. The *Ekāvalī*, in its turn, is quoted by Siṅgabhūpāla[3], whose date is fixed at 1330 A.D.; while Mallinātha, at the end of the 14th century, commented upon it. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, assigns it to a period between the first quarter of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century.

This approximation has been considerably narrowed down to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century by the identification of king Narasiṃha of Kaliṅga, panegyrised in the illustrative verses of the work[4], with either of the two Narasiṃhas of Kaliṅga, whose dates fall between 1282 and 1327. The patron of our author is described as one who crushed the pride of Hammīra (pp. 176, 177, 257, 260), who is probably the famous Cauhan prince, the hero of

1 See Bühler in *JBRAS* x p. 31f, xi. p. 279f; K. T. Telang in *IA* ii, p. 71, iii 81f; Bühler, *Rep*. 1874-75, p. 8.

2 See Trivedī's note at p. 348.

3 *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* p. 107=*Ekāv*. i. 2. Cf *ŚgŚ* i, p. 7f. This verse occurs, however, as the third *praśasti-śloka* in the printed text of Bihlaṇa's *Karṇa-sundarī* (ed. Kāvyamālā 7, 1895, p. 56).—Siṅgabhūpāla refers to Vidyādhara and his *Ekāvalī* expressly in the following terms: *utkalādhipateḥ śṛṅgāra-rasābhimānino narasiṃha-devasya cittam anuvartamānena vidyādhareṇa kavinā bāḍham abhyantarīkṛto'si, evam khalu samarthitam ekāvalyām anena* (ed. Triv. Skt. Ser. p. 206). K. P. Trivedi (Introd. p. xxiii) comes to the conclusion that Vidyādhara was patronised by Keśarī-Narasiṃha (1282-1307 A. D.) or by Pratāpa-Narasiṃha (1307-1327).

4 As the author himself says (*Śl*. 7): *karomi narasiṃhasya cāṭu-ślokān udāharan*. In this respect the work resembles *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha, *Raghunātha-bhūpālīya* of Kṛṣṇa Yajvan and *Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā* of Devaśaṃkara.

Nayacandra Sūri's poem[1], who began his reign about 1283 A.D. and attempted a conquest of Sourthern countries. All this makes it probable that the *Ekāvalī* was composed towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

Vidyādhara appears to have written a work on Erotics entitled *Kali-rahasya*[2].

(2)

Mallinātha

The date of Mallinātha, author of the *Taralā* commentary on the *Ekāvalī*, has been fixed at the end of the 14th century by Bhandarkar and Trivedi[3]. He must have written his commentary after a certain time had elapsed from the composition of the original text ; for from *śl.* 6 it appears that the *Ekāvalī* was not studied for some time because it had no commentaries. He is identical with Kolācala Mallinātha Sūri (Pedda Bhaṭṭa) who is the well-known scholiast and commentator on the five standard Mahākāvyas of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Śrīharṣa and Māgha, in some of which he quotes from the *Ekāvalī* itself.

The *Ekāvalī*, consisting of Kārikā and Vṛtti in eight Unmeṣas, utilises the works of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka in its treament of poetic figures in the last two chapters (vii-viii). After a general discussion of the definition of Kāvya in ch. i it deals in ch. ii with the three Vṛttis, namely, Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā. Ch. iii and iv are devoted to Dhvani, and ch. v-vi deal with three Guṇas, three Rītis, and the Doṣas. The illustrative verses are all composed by Vidyādhara himself and consist of panegyrics of the author's patron Narasiṃha of Utkala.

1 See ed. Kirtane v. 56. also p. 27 ; Bhandarkar *op. cit.* p. lxvii f.

2 Aufrecht i. 537 b.

3 Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91, p. lxix ; Trivedi, introd. to Bhaṭṭi pp. xxiv-xxviii, introd. to *Ekāvalī* p. xxvii f. ; Pāṭhak, introd. to *Megha-dūta* pp. 11-12 ; Nandargikar, introd. to *Raghu*, pp. 1-6, esp. pp. 5-6.

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VIDYĀNĀTHA

(1)

The latest writer that Vidyānātha cites is Ruyyaka (pp. 291, 334), whose lost work *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* is also apparently referred to at p. 11. Vidyānātha, in his turn, is quoted extensively but anonymously for definitions of poetic figures by Mallinātha in the latter's many commentaries on the different Kāvyas[1].

This gives us the same broad limits to his date as to that of Vidyādhara ; and other considerations make it probable that he was contemporaneous with the latter. The *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha was written, like the *Ekāvalī*, with the obvious object of panegyrising the king whose name it bears on its title. All the illustrative verses in the work eulogise the same king (also called Vīrarudra or Rudra), who is described as the son of Mahādeva and Mummuḍi or Mummaḍambā (pp. 12, 13, 16, 17, 133) ; and a short drama, named *Pratāparudra-kalyāṇa*[2] after him, is introduced in the third chapter to illustrate the characteristics of a drama, discussed in the work itself. He is described as a Kākatīya king[3] whose capital was Ekaśilā-nagara in the Tṛliṅga or Andhra country, and who is said to have vanquished, among other kings, the princes of the Yādava family. All these and

1 For the quotations, see Trivedi's introd. to the text p. ix.

2 Separately entered by Aufrecht i. 349a and published in the Granthamālā vol. i.

3 so called, as the *Ratnāpaṇa* explains (p. 10, also *Ratnaśāṇa* p. 485) from the goddess Kākati he worshipped.

other details have led K. P. Trivedi to identify Vidyānātha's patron with Pratāparudra, the seventh Kākatīya king of Ekaśilā or Warangal, whose inscriptions date between 1298 and 1317 A.D.[1], and who is placed by Sewell between 1295 and 1323 A.D., and by Sesagiri Sastri between 1268 and 1319 A.D.[2] The Yādava king referred to, therefore, seems to be Rāmacandra, sixth ruler of the Yādavas of Devagiri, whose dates are 1271 to 1309 A.D.[3] We may, therefore, assign Vidyānātha approximately to the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. It has been suggested that the author's real name was Agastya Paṇḍita, and Vidyānātha was his title.

Vidyānātha's work, like the *Ekāvalī*, consists of Kārikā and Vṛtti with illustrative verses in praise of the author's patron. In nine Prakaraṇas it deals respectively with the topics of Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rasa, Doṣa, Guṇa, Śadālaṃkāra, Arthlāṃkāra and Miśrālaṃkāra. In the third Prakaraṇa, as we have already noted, it illustrates the requirements of a Nāṭāka by a model drama. Its treatment is based mainly on Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka, Bharata and Dhanañjaya, but it is more comprehensive than the *Ekāvalī* inasmuch as it includes Dramaturgy.

(2)

Kumārasvāmin

Vidyānātha's commentator Kumārasvāmin describes himself as the son of Kolācala Mallinātha[4], the well-known

1 Eggeling (*IOC* iii, p. 338) gives the dates 1268 and 1319.

2 See Trivedi, introd. pp. xvi-xxii. The correct dates appear to be 1298 and 1323 A. D.

3 Bhandarkar, *Early Hist*. p. 92.

4 Nārāyaṇa, who describes himself as a descendant of Kumārasvāmin, gives the genealogy of his ancestors in his comm. on *Campūrāmāyaṇa* (*Madras Catalogue* xxi, Kāvya p. 8212) thus: Mallinātha—Kapardin—Mallinātha Peddubhaṭṭa—Kumārasvāmin. He speaks of Peddubhaṭṭa as a Mahāmahopādhyāya, a commentator on *Naiṣadha* and as having been bathed in gold by Sarvajña (Śiṅgabhūpāla?).

commentator and author of *Taralā* on the *Ekāvalī*. He may, therefore, be placed in the beginning of the 15th century. The title of his commentary *Ratnāpaṇa* (wrongly called *Ratnārpaṇa* by Eggeling *op. cit.* p. 338b, following Burnell 36b) signifies, as he himself explains, a market-place where are sold jewels of poetic sentiments, collected together by Vidyānātha, after they have been fashioned on the grindstone furnished by the merits of the hero.

The quotations in the *Ratnāpaṇa* are numerous and include, besides other well-known names, the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, the *Ekāvalī*, the *Sāhitya darpaṇa* (p. 245), Cakravartin and his *Saṃjīvanī* commentary on Ruyyaka, Śiṅgabhūpāla and his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, the author's own father Mallinātha and brother Peddayārya, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and Narahari Sūri. There are numerous references to a work on Rasa, called *Bhāva-prakāśa*, which is now known to be a work of Śāradātanaya (*q.v.*). Mention is also made of Vasantarājīya Nāṭya-śāstra, its author Vasantarāja being apparently king Kumāragiri (*q.v.*) of the same name, who was a patron of Kāṭayavema. A Kavikalpadruma-kāra is also cited at p. 170, but this is a work on grammar (*dhātu-pāṭha*) by Vopadeva. We know nothing of the *Nāṭaka-prakāśa* cited at p. 113. On *Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi* cited on p. 44, see below under Appayya Dīkṣita who also quotes the same work. The *Rasa-nirūpaṇa* may be by Narahari Sūri, and the *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* is probably the work of the same name composed ly Vīranārāyaṇa (*q.v.*).[1]

There is another incomplete commentary, called *Ratnaśāṇa*, included in the Bombay edition of the text. From the colophon of a MS of this work (*Madras Trm*, II, C, 1923), it appears to have been composed by Tirumalācārya, son of Rāmānujācārya of Śukavaṭa family and disciple of Vātsya Rāmānujācārya. He is said to have lived in Rāmatīrtha near Koṭipallī in the Godāvarī district.

1 For these authors, see chapter on Minor Writers below.

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CHAPTER VIII

FROM VIŚVANĀTHA TO JAGANNĀTHA

VIŚVANĀTHA

(1)

Viśvanātha never cites Ruyyaka and Mammaṭa by name ; but, like Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha, he draws very considerably upon the works of both. He adopts, for instance, the definitions of the figures *upameyopamā* and *bhrāntimat* directly from Ruyyaka, and admits the two figures *vikalpa* and *vicitra* which, both Ruyyaka and Jayaratha inform us, were inventions of Ruyyaka's.[1] It is quite possible, as P.V. Kane holds, that the censorious glancing on Mammaṭa's text, reproved by Viśvanātha (*ad* ii. 14, p. 57), refers in particular to Ruyyaka's *Saṃketa* commentary where the latter criticises Mammaṭa on the particular point under discussion. But a surer indication of Viśvanātha's acquaintance with Ruyyaka's works is given by his quotation of the verse *bhujaṅga-kuṇḍalī-vyakta°* at p. 445 (*ad* x. 2), which Ruyyaka himself cites (p. 19) as his own from the *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava*. Viśvanātha quotes two other writers who, in all probability, belong to this century, namely, Jayadeva, author of the *Gīta-govinda*,[2] and

1 For other instances, where Viśvanātha is following or criticising Ruyyaka, see P. V. Kane's ed. of the text in the introd. and notes.

2 The verse *hṛdi viṣa-latā* quoted by Viśvanātha at p 506 (*ad* x. 39) occurs in the *Gīta-govinda*, ed. N. S. P. iii. 11, p. 58. It is also ascribed to Jayadeva by Śārṅagadhara (no. 3460) and Vallabhadeva (no. 1314). Jayadeva is quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdhara and therefore must be placed before 1206 A.D. Bühler and Peterson assign (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 64 and *Subhās°* p. 38) 1116 A.D. as the date of Jayadeva, while Haraprasad Sastri gives the date 1175 A. D. (*Notices*, 2nd. Ser. i, p. xxxviii). Jayadeva, however, is said to have been cited by Cāndkavi, who wrote his epic on Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi towards the end of the 12th century (but see *WZKM* vii, p. 189 ; *JBRAS* xi, p. 283). Viśvanātha

Śrīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadha*.[1] Viśvanatha also quotes a verse *kadalī kadalī* (*ad* iv. 3) from *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 37) of Jayadeva. Again, the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* iv. 441 is quoted in our text at p. 529, under x. 57a (possibly indirectly through Ruyyaka p. 93); but this work of Kahlaṇa's was not completed till the middle of the 12th century. All this will roughly fix one terminus to the date of Viśvanātha, who cannot thus be placed earlier than the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century.

The other more or less terminal date is given by the date of a MS of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, discovered by Stein at Jammu, which was written in Saṃvat 1440=1384 A.D.[2] This certainly negatives the date (viz. the middle of the 15th century) assigned by Weber[3], Eggeling[4] and Harichand Sastri[5], the last of whom makes the unfortunate mistake of identifying Caṇḍīdāsa, referred to as a relative by Viśvanātha, with Caṇḍīdāsa, the Bengali poet of the 15th century. It may be noted that Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, names and quotes (pp. 245, 248) the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (iii. 146a, 147 and 150).

All this raises the most likely presumption that Viśvanātha should be assigned to a period ranging roughly from 1200 to 1350 A. D. This approximation can be considerably narrowed down if we can draw any chronological inference from a verse in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* iv. 14, p. 232) which refers to a Muhammadan king named Allāvadīna[6]. This

also refers to *Laṭaka-melaka* (p. 176, *ad* iii. 212) of Śaṅkhadhara, which also belongs to this century.

1 P. 526, *ad* x. 54 (*hanūmadādyai°*)=*Naiṣadha* ix. 122b p. 520, *ad*. x. 50 (*dhanyāsi vaidarbhi*)=*ibid* iii. 116. For the date of Śrīharṣa see S. K. De, *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* pp. 325-26.

2 *Jammu Cat.* p. 64, no. 349.

3 *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* p. 231 (Eng. trans. 1904).

4 *IOC* iii, p. 337.

5 *op. cit.* p. 115.

6 *saṃdhau sarvasva-haraṇam vigrahe prāṇa-nigrahaḥ / al(l)avadīna-nṛpatau na saṃdhir na ca vigrahaḥ.*

Allāvadīna or Alāvadīna[1] may probably be Sultan[2] Ala-ud-din Khalji, whose army invaded the Deccan and seized Warangal. Even if we suppose that the verse in question was composed in the life-time of that Sultan, who died in 1316 A. D., the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* may be presumed to have been composed at a date not earlier than 1300 A.D. At any rate, if this historical deduction is permissible, we may assign Viśvanātha to a period between 1300 and 1350 A.D., or roughly in the first half of the 14th century[3].

(2)

Viśvanātha describes himself as the son of Mahākavi Candraśekhara (p. 583, concluding verses) who appears, like his son, to have been a poet and scholar[4], as well as a high official[5] in the court of some king, probably king of Kaliṅga. Nārāyaṇa, who appears to have written also on some topics of Poetics, is either his grandfather or great-great-grandfather ; for in his commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Viśvanātha speaks of Nārāyaṇa as *asmat-pitāmaha*, while in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (p. 73, *ad* iii. 4a), the same person is called *asmat-vṛddhapitāmaha*. Caṇḍīdāsa, who appears to be different from the Bengal author of the °*Dīpikā* commentary on Mammaṭa, is also quoted.[6] He should not be confused with Viśvanātha's relative.

1 We find both these forms of the name in two inscriptions, see *JASB* xliii, p. 108 and Bhavanagar inscription 114=*Prācīna-lekha-mālā* ii. 28. In Harṣakīrti's *Dātu-pāṭha* this king is referred to as Allāvadi (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 43).

2 The sanskritised form of this word *suratrāṇa* occurs at p. 509 (*ad* x. 42).

3 Cf Kane *op. cit.* introd. ; M. Cakravarti in *JASB* lxxii (1903), p. 146, N. S. ii, 1906, p. 157f ; Keith in *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 848f ; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama*, p. 3. Prabhākara in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (1583 A.D.) quotes *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* at pp. 18, 20, 35.

4 His verses are cited at pp. 58, 116, 170, 174, while his works, called *Puṣpamālā* and *Bhāṣārṇava*, are referred to at pp. 263 and 316 respectively.

5 Both are described as *sāṃdhivigrahika-mahāpātra*.

6 Viśvanātha cites one Puruṣottama (p. 440, *ad* ix. 4a). A work

Viśvanātha appears to have written a number of works, besides his well-known *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* ; for in it he himself refers to his own productions, namely:

(1) *Rāghava-vilāsa-kāvya* (*ad* vi. 325a, p. 355).

(2) *Kuvalayāśva-carita* in Prakrit (*ad* vi. 326, p. 356).

(3) *Prabhāvatī-pariṇaya* (*ad* vi. 182b, p. 320), also referred to in his commentary of Mammaṭa ch. vii.

(4) *Praśasti-ratnāvalī* in 16 languages, a *karambhaka* (*ad* vi. 337b, p. 358).

(5) *Candrakalā* (*ad* vi. 183a and 184. p. 320-1), a *nāṭikā*. He also wrote a commentary called *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpaṇa* on Mammaṭa's work ; but this was probably composed after he had written his larger independent work on Poetics ; for in it he himself refers, while commenting on *lakṣaṇā* (ch. ii), to the latter work[1]. In the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* itself he draws very considerably upon Mammaṭa ; and although at the beginning of this work, he quotes and criticises at some length Mammaṭa's definition of poetry, he distinctly reproves all irreverent criticism of this venerable writer, who is declared to be his own *upajīvya* (*ad* ii. 14 p. 57). In this commentary Viśvanātha refers to a *Narasiṃha-kāvya* by himself.[2]

It is not clear on what grounds Weber and Eggeling[3] state that the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* was composed "on the banks of the Brahmaputra", i. e. in Eastern Bengal. It appears on the contrary that Viśvanātha was probably a native of Kaliṅga, which we may take at this date to have been co-extensive roughly with Orissa and Ganjam. In his commentary on

called *Kavitāvatāra* is attributed to one Puruṣottama in Burnell 54a.—On Viśvanātha's genealogy in relation to Nārāyaṇa, Caṇḍīdāsa and Candraśekhara see Sivaprasad Bhattacharya *Viśvanātha Kavirāja and his references* in *JOI*, Baroda, iii (1954) pp. 35f.

1 *eṣāṃ ca ṣoḍaṣāṇāṃ lakṣaṇā-bhedānām iha darśitāny udāharaṇāni mama sāhitya-darpaṇe'vagantavyāni.* Also on figure *anumāna* (ch. x): *tad uktam matkṛte sāhitya-darpaṇe.*

2 Anantadāsa in his comm. on *Sāhitya-d.* quotes a verse on p. 9 with the words: *yathā mama tāta-pādānāṃ vijaya-narasiṃhe.*

3 Cf also Macdonell, *Sansk. Lit.* p. 434 ; *SCC* vii, no. 53, p. 33.

Mammaṭa, he explains certain expression with Oriya equivalents[1]; and speaking of his ancestor Nārāyaṇa, he refers to king Narasiṃha-deva of Kaliṅga (presumably Narasiṃha II, about 1279-1306), at whose court Nārāyaṇa vanquished one Dharmadatta[2], who is also referred to in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*[3] at pp. 73, 79. It is probably in praise of one of the Narasiṃhas of Kaliṅga that Viśvanātha's lost poem *Narasiṃha-vijaya* was written.

(3)

Though not a work of much originality, the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* gives in ten chapters a comprehensive treatment of all topics of Poetics, including Dramaturgy. The distribution of topics in the different chapters is as follows: (i) Definition of poetry, (ii) Three Vṛttis of word and sense, (iii) Rasa, (iv) Dhvani and Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya, (v) Establishment of Vyañjanā-vṛtti, (vi) Dramaturgy, (vii) Doṣa, (viii) Guṇa (three in number), (ix) Rītis enumerated as four, Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī, Pāñcālī and Lāṭī, (x) Alaṃkāras. The treatment of Dramaturgy is based mostly on *Daśa-rūpaka.*

The commentaries on Viśvanātha are not so numerous or important as to deserve any special enumeration. Of the five commentaries mentioned below, that of Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgiśa, dated in Śaka 1622=1700 A.D., has been frequently printed with the text.

1 *"vaiparītyaṃ ruciṃ kuru" iti pāṭhaḥ, atra ciṅku-padaṃ kāśmīrādi-bhāṣāyām aślīlārtha-bodhakam, utkalādi-bhāṣāyāṃ dhṛta-vāṇḍaka-drava iti*, on Mammaṭa v, p. 238 (ed. Jhalakikara).

2 Cited also in the *Rasa-pradīpa* of Prabhākara, son of Bhaṭṭa Mādhava (Weber i. 823), in which the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is also quoted. Prabhākara's work was composed in 1583 A. D. For Dharmadatta see Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in the article cited above, p. 360-62.

3 *yad āhuḥ śrī-kaliṅga-bhūmaṇḍalākhaṇḍala-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-narasiṃha-sabhāyāṃ dharmadattaṃ sthagayantaḥ sakala-sahṛdayagoṣṭhī-gariṣṭha-kavi-paṇḍitāsmat-pitāmaha-śrīman-nārāyaṇadāsa-pādāḥ*, etc.

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Commentaries. (1) °*Locana* by Anantadāsa, son of Viśvanātha, a MS of which is dated 1636 A.D. Aufrecht ii. 171a. An incomplete MS (no. 262, p. 65) in *Jammu Cat.* Ed. as noted above. The commentator is described as son of Viśvanātha himself.

(2) °*Ṭippaṇa* by Mathurānātha Śukla, a voluminous writer, under whose name Aufrecht makes no less than 64 entries. Apparently the same person as Mathurānātha Śukla, a native of Pāṭalīputra in Mālava, who wrote at Benares in 1783 A. D. the *Jyotiḥ-siddhānta-sāra* by order of prince Dalacandra (but see Aufrecht i. 422-23). One Mathurānātha was also author of a comm. on *Kuvalayānanda*, and may have been the same person. Aufrecht i. 715b.

(3) °*Vivṛti* by Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgīśa, a native of Western Bengal. He was a Chattopadhyay Brahman ; his home was at Rāyavāṭi in Burdwan district. He dates his commentary in 1700 A. D. Frequently printed with the text in Bengal editions. Also in N. S. P. ed. 1915, as noted above.

(4) °*Prabhā* by Gopīnātha. *Madras Trm C* 712. Gopīnātha is also the author of the *Sumanomanoharā* comm. on Mammaṭa. See above p. 173. He is probably identical with Gopīnātha Kavirāja who composed, among other works, a commentary on the *Raghu-vaṃśa* in 1677 A.D. (see Aufrecht i. 163b).

(5) *Vijña-priyā* by Maheśvara Bhaṭṭa, Ed. as noted above. This Maheśvara appears to be the same as Maheśvara Nyāyālaṃkāra who commented also on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Middle of the 17th century. See above p. 167.

KEŚAVA MIŚRA AND ŚAUDDHODANI

(1)

Keśava himself tells us that he composed his *Alaṃkāra-śekhara* at the request of a ruling chief named Māṇikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra and grandson of Rāmacandra, who is said to have ruled near Ḍilhi (Dhilli) and defeated the king of Kābila (Kabul?). Eggeling[1] is obviously wrong in identifying him with Māṇikyacandra of Tirabhukti or Tirhut; while Bühler[2] did not go further than suggesting that this prince was not a Kashmirian but ruled or lived in Delhi just before the Muhammadan conquest. The patron of our author, however, appears to be Māṇikyacandra of Koṭ-kaṅgra, whose genealogy corresponds to that given by Keśava and whose date of accession, according to Cunningham[3], is 1563 A.D. The literary activity of Keśava may, therefore, be fixed in the third quarter of the 16th century.

(2)

The Kārikā-portion of the *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*, called *Sūtra*, is declared to have been based on, if not actually taken from, some lost work of an authority who is cited as *bhagavān* (or

1 *IOC* no. 1197.
2 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 69.
3 *Arch. Survey* v. 152f, at p. 160. (cf. *JASB*, 1907, p. 212).

maharṣi p. 50) Śauddhodani[1], Keśava himself apparently assuming the modest rôle of a commentator or interpreter in the running prose Vṛtti. The name Śauddhodani, apparently Buddhistic, is otherwise unknown in Alaṃkāra-literature[2]. Whatever may be the original source of his work, Keśava shows himself conversant with the work of most of his predecessors, and quotes, among more recent writers, Rājaśekhara (pp. 32, 67), Bhoja (p. 7), Mahimabhaṭṭa, Mammaṭa, the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra*, Deveśvara and Jayadeva author of *Candrāloka*. He also quotes one Śrīpāda (pp. 4, 5, 6, 23, 27, 32, 72, 81), who may be his master Śauddhodani himself designated by this honorific term, as well as the author of a *Kavi-kalpalatā* who is described as a follower of this Śrīpāda[3]. This Kavikalpalatā-kāra, however, is neither Deveśvara nor Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, whose works also bear a similar title. The passage cited by Keśava in this connexion (pp. 48-9, *veṇyāḥ sarpāsi-bhṛṅgālyo*) gives a list of more or less conventional words useful for the purpose of conveying a simile or metaphor. A comparison of an almost similar passage in Deveśvara (p. 157f), who copies it directly from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra (pp. 135f), will show enough verbal discrepancy to indicate that neither of these sources constitutes the original from which Keśava quotes. A similar discrepancy is also noticeable in another passage of Keśava's (*ratnāni yatra tatrādrau* pp. 55-6), which at first sight will seem to have been borrowed from Deveśvara (p. 36f) who, however, copies it almost literally from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra

1 Mentioned in exalted terms as: *alaṃkāra-vidyā-sūtrakāro bhagavāñ chauddhodaniḥ parama-kāruṇikaḥ* (p. 2). The *Alaṃkāra-sūtra* of Śauddhodani is mentioned at pp. 2, 20.

2 This Śauddhodani should not be identified with the Śauddhodani mentioned in the *maṅgala* verse (where it apparently stands for the name of Buddha) of the *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* of Dharmadāsa Sūri.

3 *śrīpāda-matānusārī kavikalpalatā-kāraḥ* p. 48, ed. Nir. Sag. Press. Frequently quoted, pp. 4, 5, 23, 27, 32, 72, 83 etc.

(p. 30f). At the same time, Keśava betrays otherwise an acquaintance with Deveśvara's text, from which he reproduces at least one long passage anonymously (*nṛpe kīrti-pratāpājñā* p. 57f = Deveśvara p. 26f), which Deveśvara himself probably adapted from Arisiṃha and Amaracandra (p. 27f); but it is curious that Keśava copies here the text of Deveśvara with its variations, rather than the original text of Arisiṃha Amara on this point.

Keśava cites one Śrīharṣa (p. 71) who may or may not be the same person mentioned by Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa (*q. v.*) as Śrīharṣa Miśra, or Harṣa (Śrīharṣa) who wrote a Vārttika on the *Nāṭya-śāstra.* The opinions of a writer called Govardhana are frequently cited by Keśava (pp. 17, 29, 37, 43, 49). There is also a reference to Jayadeva *paṇḍita-kavi* (p. 17) in the court of an Utkala king. If this person is identical with the poet Jayadeva, who is said to have lived under Lakṣmaṇa-sena of Bengal and who also calls himself Jayadeva *paṇḍita-kavi* in his *Gīta-govinda* (xii, p. 171)[1], then it is likely that Govardhana, who is quoted immediately before this reference to Jayadeva, may be the poet of that name, who was Jayadeva's contemporary referred to in the beginning of the *Gīta-govinda.*

Keśava, who is described in the colophon as a Nyāyācārya, tells us that he had already composed seven abstruse treatises on the subject before he undertook the composition of his *Alaṃkāra-śekhara.* Two of these are apparently those which are mentioned in the text as his own under the citations *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (p. 9) and *Vākya-ratna* (p. 12) or *Kāvya-ratna* (p. 72). A *Kāvya-ratna* is mentioned in Oppert ii. 6237.

The *Alaṃkāra-śekhara* written in the form of Kārikā and Vṛtti, consists of eight chapters (called Ratnas) and 22 sections (called Marīcis) with topics distributed as follow: i. Definition

1 The verse *unmīlan-madhu-gandha°* of the *Gīta-govinda* (ed. N. S. P. p. 29) is quoted anonymously by Keśava at p. 6, as an instance of the Gauḍī Rīti.

of Kāvya, etc. ii. Three Rītis (Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Māgadhī), Ukti, Mudrā with their varieties. iii. Three Vṛttis (Abhidhā etc). iv-vi. Eight Doṣas of Pada, twelve of Vākya and eight of Artha. vii-viii. Five Guṇas of Śabda (Saṃkṣiptatva, Udāttatva, Prasāda, Ukti and Samādhi), four Guṇas of Artha (Bhāvikatva, Suśabdatva, Paryāyokti and Sudharmitā). ix. Cases when Doṣas become Guṇas. x-xii. Eight Alaṃkāras of Śabda and fourteen Alaṃkāras of Artha. Some of the names and definitions are different from those of orthodox writers. xiii-xvii. Devoted mostly to Kavi-śikṣā topics—poetic convention, mode of describing different objects etc. xviii-xix. Certain verbal tricks, Samasyā-pūraṇa etc. xx. Nine Rasas, topics of Nāyaka-nāyikā, Bhāvas etc. xxi-xxii. Rasa-doṣas ; and letters favourable to each Rasa. It will be seen that although Keśava Miśra accepts Dhvani and Rasa and the general pattern of orthodox Poetics, he appears yet to follow a different tradition, especially in the treatment of Guṇa, Doṣa and Alaṃkāra. But the difference is not material ; for as noted above, he draws largely upon most of his well-known predecessors.

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Editions. (1) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1895. (2) ed. Anantaram Sastri Vetal, Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Benares 1927. (3) ed. Ganesha Sarma, Benares 1886. Our references are to Nir. Sag. Press ed.

APPAYYA DĪKṢITA

(1)

Appayya Dīkṣita himself furnishes us with a clue to his date. He tells us at the end of his *Kuvalayānanda* that it was composed at the instance of a South Indian prince

named Veṅkaṭa[1]. Aufrecht[2], and following him Eggeling[3], identify this patron of Appayya with Veṅkaṭa of Vijayanagara (about 1535 A. D.), while Hultzsch[4] shows that he was Veṅkaṭa I of Pennakoṇḍa, whose inscriptions range from Śaka 1508 to 1535 (=1586 to 1613 A. D.).[5] On the other hand, in the colophon to his *Śivādityamaṇi-dīpikā* (Hultzsch 1056), Appayya mentions as his patron a prince Cinna Bomma, son of Cinnavīra and father of Liṅgama Nāyaka. The inscriptions of this chief of Velur (Vellore in the North Arcot district) are dated in Śaka 1471 and 1488 (=1549 and 1566 A.D.).[6] In the last verse of the *Kuvalayānanda* reference is made to Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa's commentary *Śaradāgama* (on the *Candrāloka*) which in dated 1583 A.D. The extreme limits, therefore, of Appayya's literary activity are 1549 and 1613 A. D. We may thus assign him to the third and fourth quarters of the 16th century ; and as he was alive in the time of Veṅkaṭa I, he may have lived into the beginning of the 17th century[7]. This date is confirmed by the fact that we

1 Cf also *Śl* 168 (ed. NSP 1913) which, though occurring also in the text of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, is probably one of Appayya's additions.

2 *Cat. Bod.* 213a. But in his *Cat. Cat.* i. 22a and ii. 5a, he assigns the dates, viz. end of the 15th and end of the 16th century respectively. Regnaud's conjecture (*Rhétorique Sansk.* p. 375) that Appayya flourished in reign of Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara in 1520 A.D. is not correct.

3 *IOC* iii, p. 335.

4 *Rep. of South Ind. Sansk. MSS* ii, p. xiii and *EI* iv. 271 (cf *JASB* 1907, p. 211).

5 *South Ind. Inscrip.* i, p. 69f and p. 84. Also see H. D. Velankar in *Cat. JBRAS.*, i. no. 141.

6 *IA* xiii p. 155 and *EI* iii p. 238 Table.

7 He is said to have lived to the ripe old age of 73 (see introd. to Halasyanatha's ed. of *Kuvalayānanda* p. 15). The usually accepted date is 1552-1624 or 1554-1626 A.D. But the date 1520-1593 is argued in *JOR*, Madras, 1928, pp. 225-237 and 1929, pp. 140-160. See also the Madras Univ. ed. (1929) of *Śivādvaita-nirṇaya* (introd.) and Vanivilas Press ed. of *Yādavābhyudaya* vol. ii→(introd.), p. ivf. where the date argued is between 1552 and 1624. Veṅkaṭa, author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* tells us that he hailed from Kāñcī (or Conjeevaram). That Appayya is

find Appayya cited by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa in the first quarter of the 17th century and attacked by Jagannātha about the same time.

(2)

We find the author himself using the forms Appa or Apya of his name in his *Kuvalayānanda*, but it is variously spelt as Appaya and Appayya. A champion of Southern Śaivism he was a versatile and prolific writer, and tradition ascribes to him more than one hundred works,[1] of which Aufrecht mentions nearly seventy. A Tamil Brahman of Bharadvāja gotra, he was the fifth son of Raṅgarāja (or Raṅgarājādhvarin) and had a brother called Apya or Ācchān.

Appayya is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his three works, viz. the *Kuvalayānanda*, the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Vṛtti-vārttika*. Of these, the last seems to have been his earliest work, after which comes the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* which is referred to in his *Kuvalayānanda*. None of these works displays much originality ; and we have seen that his *Kavalayānanda* was directly based on Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, up to the section on the figure *hetu*.[2] To the "one hundred" Alaṃkāras of Jayadeva Appayya, however, adds fifteen,[3] and this perhaps constitutes

later than the 14th century is shown by the fact that he cites the *Ekāvalī*, *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* and *Saṃjīvanī* comm. of Jayaratha.

1 So states Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya* i. 44. The question is complicated by the fact that no less than four Appayya Dīkṣitas belonged to the family in three generations. See V. Raghavan in *Proceedings* of *A-I.O.C*, Tirupati 1941, pp. 176-80. In the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (ed. V. Raghavan), Madras 1949, pp. 197-200, there are no less than 58 entries after careful sifting. This Catalogue may be consulted for Appayyas II, III, and IV also.

2 See above p. 200.

3 In the text of the *Kuvalayānanda-kārikā* with Āśādhara's commentary, which is translated by Schmidt and published by the N. S. P. 1906, the fourth chapter dealing with *śabdālaṃkāras* is an interpolation, or rather mistaken incorporation into the text of Appayya of a chapter from Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya's *Kāvya-vilāsa* (*IOC* iii, pp. 340-44). as the

the largest number of such figures mentioned in any Alaṃkāra work, and forms the climax in the process of multiplying the poetic figures with endless minute differentiation. The *Citra-mīmāṃsā* is a more independent work; but it was probably left incomplete. In most of the MSS,[1] as well as in the printed texts,[2] it goes up to the *atiśayokti-prakaraṇa* and breaks off with the curious verse:

apy ardha-citramīmāṃsā na mude kasya māṃsalā /
anūrur iva gharmāṃśor ardhendur iva dhūrjaṭeḥ //

which, if authentic, implies that the work was designedly left incomplete. But in some MSS there is an additional verse, which gives a list of the figures to be dealt with (*pratipādyā-laṃkāra-sūcī*),[3] which ends with the mention of *utprekṣā*, and omits *atiśayokti* which ought to come after it. The *Candrikā* commentary of Vaidyanātha supports this tradition with the remark: *utprekṣā-granthānantaraṃ citra-mīmāṃsā na kvāpi dṛśyate*; but the commentary of Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala, includes and comments on the section on *atiśayokti* coming thereafter. Appayya's own references to the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* in *Kuvalayānanda* (pp. 78, 86, 133) relate to the treatment of the figures of *śleṣa*, *prastutāṅkura* and *arthāntara-nyāsa*, which are wanting in the present-day text. The printed text of the *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* of Jagannātha goes only as far as *apahnuti*. Appayya's third work, the *Vṛtti-vārttika*,

colophon at the end of that chapter itself shows. It is well known that the *Kuvalayānanda* deals only with Arthālaṃkāras.

1 e.g. *IOC* iii p. 336, ends with *atiśayokti* at fol. 72a; *Madras Trm* A 1104: *ŚgŚ* ii, p. 82.

2 Ed. V. L. Panshikar, Kāvyamālā 38, NSP, 1907. In the text published in the *Pandit* xiii, the work ends with *utprekṣā*, and the *atiśayokti* is wanting.

3 *upamā sahopameyopamayāthānanvayaḥ smaraṇaṃ / rūpaka-pariṇati-saṃśaya - bhrāntimad - ullekha-nihnavotprekṣāḥ //* This verse occurs at the end of the text printed in the *Pandit* and in the India Office MS referred to. The MS *kha* used in the Kāvyamālā ed. (see p. 101 fn) ends with *utprekṣā*. In *Madras Cat.* xxii, MS no. 12879 ends with *atiśayokti*, but nos. 12880-81 end with *utprekṣā*.

which is a short dissertation, after a work called *Kāvya-saraṇi*, on the three functions of word and its sense, is also incomplete as it stands; for it consists only of two chapters on the two functions *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, and the third chapter which should deal with the third function *vyañjanā* is wanting.

Appaya appears to have written another work, called *Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī* on the Lakṣaṇas of Rūpaka.[1]

Appayya Dīkṣita, second son of Āccān Dīkṣita who was a brother of our Appayya, wrote an *Alaṃkāra-tilaka*.

(3)

Appayya's works appear to have started some controversies in his time. Thus Jagannātha, who flourished immediately after him, not only attacked Appayya in his *Rasa-gaṅgā-dhara* and stigmatised him as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha, but also wrote his *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* to demolish Appayya's work of that name. Bhīmasena, in his commentary on Mammaṭa, also refers to a *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana* written by himself as an attack on Appayya's other work; and we find Atirātrayajvan, a younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita and descendant of Appayya's, taking up the cudgel to defend the fair fame of his ancestor in his *Citramīmāṃsā-doṣa-dhikkāra*.[2]

Among more recent writers and works cited by Appayya, we find the names of the Sāhityacintāmaṇi-kāra, Ratnākara, *Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi*[3] (*Vṛtti-vārttika* p. 19) and *Kāvya-saraṇi*,

1 See T. R. Cintamani in *JOR*, Madras, iv, 1930, pp. 242-44 (text of a newly discovered fragment).

2 The authorship of this work is uncertain. Oppert 4802 ascribes it to Cinna Appayya, younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita; but Hultzsch (ii, p. 126, no. 1281, up to Apahnuti-prakaraṇa) ascribes it to Cinna Appayya's last brother Atirātrayajvan. See *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 200.

3 This is probably the work of the same name attributed to Sāyaṇa, younger brother of Mādhava and elder brother of Bhoganātha. But the illustrative verses, which are in praise of Sāyaṇa, appear to have been composed by Bhoganātha. As ministers of Harihara I (1336-55 A.D.) and Bukka (1355-77 A.D.), Sāyaṇa belonged to the 14th century. He is better known as a commentator on Vedic works. An anthology,

the last work (of which nothing is known) being avowedly the model or source of his *Vṛtti-vārttika*. The *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi*, also cited by Kumārasvāmin, is probably the work of the same name by Vīranārāyaṇa (*q. v.*, about 1400 A.D.). The *Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi* is apparently the same work as cited by Kumārasvāmin at p. 44. If the Ratnākara quoted in the *Vṛtti-vārttika* p. 20 be the same as Ratnākara cited extensively by Jagannātha in his two works, then it refers to the *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākaramitra, and should be distinguished from *Rasa-ratnākara* cited by Mallinātha on *Meghadūta*. A *Kāvyāloka* is cited by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (pp. 27, 53)

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON APPAYYA

The popularity of the *Kuvalayānanda* as a convenient manual is indicated by the many commentaries on it, the more important ones of which have been published. The *Dīpikā* of the poet Āśādhara, son of Rāmajī and disciple of Dharaṇīdhara, has been edited as well as translated. The *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* and *Ṣaṭpadānanda* of Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa have not yet found an editor, but the *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, son of Rāmacandra (or Rāma Bhaṭṭa) and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa, has been printed several times in Madras and elsewhere. The more reliable commentary of Gaṅgādharādhvarin or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin, son of Devasiṃha-sumati of Vādhūla-gotra and pupil of Viśvarūpa Yati of Benares, probably preserves the text and the Appayya-traditions better, inasmuch as the commentator tells us that Appayya was the teacher of a brother of his grandfather, and he himself takes great pains to settle the readings of his text. Other less known commentaries are mentioned below.

called *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* is ascribed to him (*Proc. A-I.O.C.* Baroda 1935, pp. 121-24.

The *Citra-mīmāṃsā* has been commented upon by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala of Vasiṣṭha-gotra and grandson of Ṭhākura, who had, besides the author's father, two other sons named Pūraṇadāsa and Devadāsa. The commentator was disciple of Paramānanda and was born in Bharatapura. He wrote also a commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*Madras Cat.* xii. 12625).

No commentary on the *Vṛtti-vārttika* is known.

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Kuvalayānanda

Editions. The work as a popular text-book has been printed frequently at Poona, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Benares in Devanāgarī as well as in Grantha, Telugu and Bengali characters, with or without commentaries. The earliest edition appears to be that printed in Puthi form from Pathsala Press, Poona 1842 (2nd ed. 1845). It is not necessery to enumerate here all the editions, but the following publications in Devanāgarī are noteworthy. *Without commentary*: (1) by P. R. Subrahmanya Sarman with Eng. trs. and notes, Banerjee Press, Calcutta 1903. *With the Candrikā commentary* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat (2) the Poona ed. mentioned above. (3) ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, Satya Press, Calcutta 1847 etc. (4) ed. Satyavrata Samasrami in *Pratna-karma-nandinī*, Satya Press, Calcutta 1874. (5) ed. Kashinath Vasudev Khandekar, Jagadisvara Press, Bombay 1884. (6) printed in oblong Puthi form, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1879. (7) ed. Vasudev L. Panshikar, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1907 (2nd ed.), 1913 etc. (8) ed. Govinda Sastri, Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1911. (9) the Madras eds. are mostly in Grantha (1870, 1881) or Telugu characters (1870, 1895). *With the Rasika-rañjanī comm.* of Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin. (10) ed. R. Halasyanath Sastri, Kumbhakonam 1892. *With the Alaṃkara-dīpikā comm.* of Āśādhara, (11) ed. Vasudev L. Panshikar, Nirnay Sag. Press, Bombay 1909;

(12) the same, with text trs. into German by R. Schmidt, Berlin 1907, along with Rāmadeva Cirañjīva's *Kāvya-vilāsa.* See also Bibliography under *Candrāloka* above p. 204f. (Our references are to the NSP ed. of 1913 by V. L. Panshikar, which also contains the *Candrikā* comm.).

Commentaries. (1) *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat. Ed. as above. Published many times with the text. MSS: *SCC* vii, 1, 29 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12862-67 ; *IOC* iii, no. 270-72, p. 33. For a list of editions see *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, pp. 182-83. Mitra in *Bik. Cat.* no 607, p. 213 gives a wrong impression of the work. Vaidyanātha also wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kav. Prak.* (*q.v.*) which in dated in 1684 A.D. See above p. 170.

(2) *Alaṃkāra-dīpikā* by Āśādhara. Printed by NSP and translated, as above. Āśādhara comments only on the Kārikās, but he is not aware of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka.* Āśādhara himself appears to have added what is called an Uddiṣṭa-prakaraṇa of about 21 Kārikās with pertinent comm. See *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 153, p. 174. Āśādhara also wrote *Kovidānanda* and *Triveṇikā* (see under Minor Writers below). He should not be confused with Āśādhara who wrote a commentary on Rudraṭa ; see above p. 93.

(3) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Gaṅgādharādhvarin or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin. Printed from Kumbhakonam as noted above. MSS: Aufrecht i. 113a (the attribution to Appayya himself is wrong, as corrected later), ii. 22b ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12868-70; also see *Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5205, pp. 4024-27. This commentator describes Appayya as *asmat-pitāmaha-sahodara-deśikendra* ; but according to tradition the commentator lived under the Tanjore prince Śāhajī (1684-1711 A.D.). Originally he was a native of Tiravālaṅgāḍu in Chingleput district. Also wrote some comms. on philosophical works.

(4) *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* by Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. First quarter of the 18th century. Nāgojī is said to have written also

another commentary on *Kuvalay°* called *Ṣaṭpadānanda*, or in full *Viṣamapada-vyākhyāna Ṣaṭpadānanda* ; see *Jammu Cat.* nos. 1190 and 1191 ; *SCC* viii. 28. As its name indicates, the latter commentary probably deals only with difficult words and passages. The two commentaries are often confused. In this last commentary, Nāgojī refers to his *°Marma-prakāśikā* on Jagannātha's work. Extracts of both in Stein pp. 270-271.

(5) *Kāvya-mañjarī* by Nyāyavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya. Aufrecht i. 113a. Is he identical with Rāmacandra Nyāyavāgīśa, son of Vidyānidhi (*q.v.*) and author of *Kāvya-candrīkā*?

(6) Comm. by Mathurānātha. Aufrecht i. 113a. See above p. 217, bibliography under Viśvanātha.

(7) *°Ṭippaṇa* by Kuravirāma referred to in the introductory verse of his comm. on the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* ; Hultzsch i, extr. p. 57, no. 21. For the author who also wrote on Dramaturgy see above p. 127 (under Dhanañjaya). As Veṅkṭādhvarin, author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*, is known to be a grandson of Appayya's, Kuravirāma, who commented on this poem, could not have been earlier than the middle of the 17th century.

(8) *Laghvalaṃkāra-candrikā* by Devīdatta. *SCB* 830.

(9) *Budha-rañjanī* by Veṅgala Sūri. The colophon to some MSS describes him as *Śrī-rāmabhūpāla-sabhābhūṣaṇa*. Ed. in Telugu characters, Bharati Nilaya Press, Madras 1882. Also included in the Palghat ed. of *Candrāloka*, see under *Candrāloka*, p. 204. This is really a comm. on the Arthālaṃkāra-section of *Candrāloka*, which is co-extensive with the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*.

(10) An anon. comm. in *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, no. 155, p. 177.

Citra-mīmāṃsā

Editions. (1) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga in the *Pandit* xiii, 1891, (2) With Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana, ed. Sivadatta, and

V. L. Panshikar. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1893, 1907 (our references are to the 2nd ed. of 1907).

Commentaries. (1) *Sudhā* by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala of Vasiṣṭha-gotra. Comments up to Atiśayokti. *Madras Cat.* xii, 12884-86 (extract). Dharānanda also wrote commentaries on the *Anargha-rāghava* (*Madras Cat.* xxi, Kāvya, no. 12444, p. 8355) and on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*ibid*, no. 1265, p. 8475). The last-named comm. was composed in 1814 A.D. In it he gives his genealogy and an account of himself, from which we learn that he was son of Rāmabala of Bharatapura, grandson of Ṭhākura and disciple of Paramānanda.

(2) *Gūḍhārtha-prakāśikā* by Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa. Aufrecht ii. 38b. He should be distinguished from Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, author of *Alaṃkāra-sāra.* See chapter on Minor Writers below.

(3) *Citrāloka. SCB* 106.

Vṛtti-vārttika

Editions. (1) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga in the *Pandit* xii, 1890. (2) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1893. Our references are to the N.S.P. 2nd ed. of 1910.

Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī

Ed. T. R. Chintamani in *JOR* Madras, iv, 1930, pp. 242-44 (a fragment). An incomplete Grantha MS entitled *Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī-vyākhyā* without the name of the author is noticed in *Tanjore Cat.* xi, no. 5295, p. 4079 ; but it is probably a different work which appears to deal with Dramaturgy.

JAGANNĀTHA

In his *Bhāminī-vilāsa* Jagannātha tells us[1] that he passed his youth under the patronage of the emperor of Delhi, from

1 *dillīvallabha-pāṇipallava-tale nītaṃ navīnaṃ vayaḥ*, ed. Granthamālā vol. iv, *śl* 32. This verse is wanting in the N.S.P. ed. 1894. The

whom, we are told elsewhere, he received the title of Paṇḍita-rāja.[1] This emperor seems to have been Shah Jahan (1628-1658). He also seems to have lived under the protection of Nawab Asaf Khan (d. 1641), brother of Nur Jahan and a nobleman in the court of Shah Jahan, in whose praise he wrote his *Āsapha-vilāsa* and who is also referred to in verses quoted in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* (p. 166 *sudhīva vaṇī*; 457 *yuktaṃ tu yāte*, referring to Asaf's death). In the latter work, there is also a reference in a verse (p. 521) to Nuradīna which is apparently the Sanskritised form of one of the names of Jahangir (1605-1627), Shah Jahan's father. Shah Jahan came to the throne in 1628 A. D., and was thrown into prison in 1658 A. D. In his *Jagad-ābharaṇa* Jagannātha eulogises king Jagatsiṃha of Udaipur (1628-1654) and in his *Prāṇābharaṇa* king Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa (1633-1666); but they are essentally identical works which have been utilised, with certain change of names and addition of verses, to eulogise two patrons. It seems, therefore, Jagannātha enjoyed the patronage of four rulers, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Jagatsiṃha and Prāṇanārāyaṇa at different periods of life. His literary activity, therefore, lay in the second and third quarters of the 17th century; and it extended roughly from about 1620 to 1660 A. D. Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa commented upon his

Granthamālā text is published with the comm. of Mahādeva Dīkṣita who claims to be a grandson of Jagannātha himself. The phrases *dillī-narapati* and *dillīśvara* occur also in *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* and other works (see Aryendra Sarma, *Paṇḍitarāja-kāvya-saṃgraha*, Osmania Univ. 1958, p. vii for references).

1 See citation from *Āsapha-vilāsa* given in introd. to Kāvyamālā ed. of *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* p. 2 fn.; also Nāgeśa on *Rasa-gaṅg°* p. 3. The text of the *Āsapha-vilāsa* appears to contain lacuna and ends abruptly. The poet Paṇḍita-rāja, cited in the anthology *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* of Haribhāskara, whose commentary on the *Vṛtta-ratnākara* was composed in 1676 A.D. (Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1877-91, p. lxii and *Rep.* 1883-84. p. 60) is probably our author. There is also a commentator on Mammaṭa named Paṇḍitarāja (*q.v.*) who is a different author. Aufrecht (ii. 40a), making a confusion between the two, attributes the *Kāvya-prakāśa-ṭīkā* to our Jagannātha.

Rasa-gaṅgādhara in the beginning of 18th century, while Jagannātha himself attacks Appayya Dīkṣita who lived in the third quarter of the 16th century.[1]

(2)

Jagannātha describes himself as son of Peru[2] (or Perama[3]) Bhaṭṭa and Lakṣmī. He was, like Appayya, a South Indian writer, being a native of Tailaṅga[4] (Telugu country), and belonged to the Veṅgināḍu, Vegināṭi or Vegināḍa family of Brahmans[5]. His father was reputed for his learning, having been, as Jagannātha himself tells us,[6] taught the Vedānta by Jñānendra-bhikṣu, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika by Mahendra Paṇḍita, the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā by Khaṇḍadeva and the *Mahābhāṣya* by Śeṣa Vīreśvara. Our author learnt these subjects from his father, and also from one of his father's teachers, Śeṣa Vīreśvara. Very little is known of his personal history, although curious tales about his fondness for a Muhammadan woman, named Lavaṅgī, and his death by plunging into the sacred river Ganges have gathered round his name.[7] Jagannātha was also the author of several

1 On Jagannātha see V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, *Jagannātha Paṇḍita* (reprinted from *Journal of Annamalai Univ.* iii-iv) and Aryendra Sarma in the work cited above. Ramaswami Sastri gives Jagannātha's date as 1590-1665.

2 *Rasa-gaṅg°* i. 3.

3 concluding verse to his *Prāṇābharaṇa*.

4 *Prāṇābharaṇa śl.* 52.

5 colophon to *Bhāminī-vilāsa*.

6 *Rasa-gaṅg°* i. 2.

7 P. K. Gode, in *Studies in Ind. Lit. History* ii, 1954, pp. 452-59, finds the earliest mention of the tradition in a MS dated 1843 A.D. But Acyuta Rāya, whose *Sāhitya-sāra* is dated in 1831 A.D., discusses in his commentary on the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* (ed. NSP, Bombay 1933) the autobiographical significance of the lyrics in that work and of verses like *yavanī navanīta-komalāṅgī* often attributed to Jagannātha. See also L. R. Vaidya in the introd. to his ed. of the *Bhāminī-vilāsa*. For a full discussion of the Lavaṅgī episode see V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21 ; P. K. Gode in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* iv, 1942, 57-62 and in *Rājasthāna Bhāratī* (Bikaner) ii, 1948, pp. 45-49. Aryendra Sarma assumes the Lavaṅgī verses (given on p. 190, nos. 582-88) to be genuine.

poetical works,[1] besides writing the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, the latest yet not the least important work on Poetics, and the *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana.* He also wrote a grammatical work, directed against Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's famous commentary *Manoramā*, and called it *Manoramā-kuca-mardana.*

Both the rhetorical works of Jagannātha have been obtained incomplete. The printed editions of the text of the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* go up to the treatment of *uttarālaṃkāra* and break off with an incomplete verse ; and so do most MSS noticed in the various reports and catalogues. Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa's commentary also ends with the same section. In conformity to a pun in the word *gaṅgādhara* in the title, the work was apparently planned to consist of five heads (*ānana*) or chapters, of which we have got only one complete and another incomplete chapter[2]. The topics covered by the

1 Some of these have been published by the N.S.P. For a list, see introd. to Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅg°* (N. S. P. ed.) ; Aufrecht i. 196b ; Kāvyamāla Gucchaka i, p. 79 ; and Aryendra Sarma in the work cited. These are: (1) Amṛta-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (2) Āsapha-vilāsa, praise of Asaf Khan (in Aryendra Sarma, *op. cit.*) (3) Karuṇā-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (4) Gaṅgā-laharī or Pīyūṣa-laharī (ed. N. S. P. Bombay 1930) (5) Jagadābharaṇa, praise of Jagatsiṃha of Udaipur (6) Prāṇābharaṇa, praise of Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa (Km Gucchaka ii ; 51 verses in different metres) (7) Bhāminī-vilāsa (in four Samullāsas on Anyokti, Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa and Śānti, ed. NSP 1894) (8) Manoramā-kuca-mardana, directed against Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's *Manoramā* (9) Yamunāvarṇana-campū (quoted in *Rasa-g.* pp. 19, 128) (10) Lakṣmī-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (11) Sudhā-laharī (Km. Gucchaka i). Of these nos. 3, 6 and 11 are quoted in the *Rasa-gaṅgā°*, e.g. *śl* 60=p. 36 ; *śl* 4=p. 56 ; *śl* 1=p. 20 ; as also *Gaṅgā-laharī* p. 243 (*samṛddhaṃ saubhāgyam*), 491 (*samutpattiḥ*) ; *Bhāminī-vilāsa* p. 402 (*digante śrūyante*), 403 (*pura-sarasi*). The Pañca-laharyaḥ (five laharīs) are mentioned at p. 109.

2 It cannot be determined whether the work was completed ; but it was certainly composed before Jagannātha wrote his *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, the second verse of which refers to the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*. In *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, however, a reference is made to Udāharaṇālaṃkāra-prakaraṇa of *Rasa-g.* (*viśeṣas tu udāharaṇālaṃkāra-prakaraṇe rasa-gaṅgādharād avaseyaḥ*, p. 12), but this Prakaraṇa is not found in the extant text of *Rasa-g.*

first Ānana are : definition of Kāvya, its four varieties Uttamottama, Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama ; Rasa and Bhāvas ; Guṇas, whether three or ten. In the second Ānana we have divisions of Dhvani, with a discussion of Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇā, after which comes treatment of Upamā and other poetic figures, enumerated as 70 ; but it is incomplete. The work is written in the form of Sūtra and Vṛtti. The *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, directed against Appayya's work of that name, also goes as far as the *apahnuti*-section and does not deal with *utprekṣā* and *atiśaya* which are found in some MSS of the *Citra-mīmāṃsā*. There is a reference to a matter to be dealt with in the Nidarśanālaṃkāra-prakaraṇa (p. 101: *adhikaṃ tu nidarśanālaṃkāra-prakaraṇe cintayiṣyate*) which Jagannātha obviously contemplated writing.

(3)

Of comparatively recent writers, Jagannātha, besides citing Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Jayaratha extensively, refers to and quotes Vidyādhara (p. 254), Vidyānātha (p. 162), Viśvanātha (and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, p. 7) and Appayya, and refers very often to the *navyāḥ* (pp. 25, 149, 240, 313, 429, 478). The scathing criticism which he levels against Appayya as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha was, no doubt, prompted by the zeal of eclipsing the fame of another South Indian writer in the same field. Jagannātha also cites Śrīvatsalāñchana (p. 39), apparently the commentator on Mammaṭa, an unknown Alaṃkāra-bhāṣyakāra (pp. 239, 365 ; also referred to by Jayaratha), and Ratnākara (pp. 202, 207, 209, 211, 221, 225, 281, 313, 480, 492 etc.) which last name is also cited by Appayya. Jagannātha also refers to a work called *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* (pp. 163, 165). An anonymous *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* is mentioned in Burnell 54a ; but Bühler[1] describes a work of that name by Śobhākaramitra, son of Trayīśvaramitra. Peterson informs us[2] that

1 *Kashmir Rep.* App. ii no. 228, p. cxxviii.

2 *Rep.* i p. 12. Bühler (*Report* 1877) mentions a small work called

the Kashmirian poet Yaśaskara extracted some *sūtras* on Alaṃkāra[1] from a work called *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* by Śobhākaramitra, and illustrated them in his *Devī-stotra* by composing verses in praise of Devī, as the opening words of the latter work themselves show[2]. The work of Yaśaskara in Stein is for this reason called *Alaṃkarodāharaṇa-saṃnibaddha Devī-stotra.*[3] The *Ratnākara* of Jagannātha undoubtedly refers to this *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākaramitra; for the citation from Ratnākara at p. 202=*sūtra* 11 (as given in Peterson i p. 78).[4] Jayaratha criticises (pp. 41, 52) the Kashmirian Śobhākara who deviates from Ruyyaka. Jagannātha says (p. 281) that Appayya Dīkṣita follows *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara*.

(4)

Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa

The commentator on the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* is Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, whose name we have already mentioned as a commentator on Mammaṭa, Govinda Ṭhakkura, Bhānudatta

Dhvani-gāthā-pañjikā which contains explanations of Prakrit verses, apparently of the *Dhvanyāloka*; but there is no evidence (except the epithet Kāśmīrakācārya in the colophon) to show that he was the same as the Kashmirian Ratnākara, author of the poem *Hara-vijaya*. BORI MS no. 182, *Cat.* xii, p 207.

1 These are given in Peterson, *op. cit.* App. pp. 77-81.

2 *ratnākarābhyantarato gṛhītvālaṃkāra-sūtrāṇi yathākrameṇa | bandīva devyā girirāja-putryāḥ karomi śaṃsan śruti-gocarāṇi.* The commentary on this verse explains: *śrī-trayīśvara-mitrātmaja-śrī-śobhākaramitra-viracite'laṃkāra-ratnākare'laṃkāra-sūtrāṇi.* The colophon to Bühler's MS of the *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* reads *trayīśvara-mantra-putrasya* as a description of Śobhākaramitra, in which the word *mantra* is obviously a mistake for *mitra*. Stein's Jammu MS 58 reads Śobhākaramitra as the name of the author (cf. also *WBod* 1162).

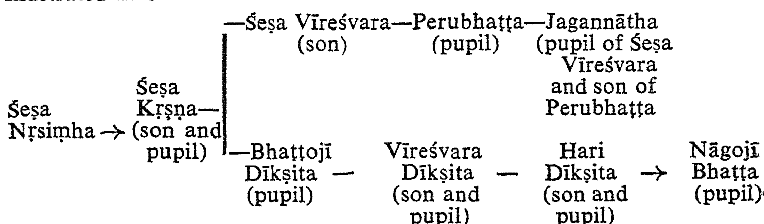
3 The original is also called *Alaṃkāra-ratnodāharaṇa* and the author Śobhākareśvara. See also Mitra 1822; Hultzsch's *Eine Sammlung ind. Handschriften* 170.

4 The work has been recovered and edited by C. R. Devadhar, Poona 1942. See under Minor Writers below. Jagannātha refers to *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* in as many as eleven different places (see C. R. Devadhar in *Proc. A-I. O.C*, Lucknow 1955, pp. 60-65).

and Appayya. He was a Mahratta Brahman (with the surname Kāla or Kāle), son of Śiva Bhaṭṭa and Satī. He lived in Benares and was patronised by Rāmasiṃha of Śṛṅgavera-pura (near Allahabad). He is one of the latter-day grammarians, who composed a number of works and commentaries on grammar, poetics and philosophy. He was a pupil of Hari Dīkṣita, who was the son of of Vīreśvara Dīkṣita and great-grandson of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, the well-known author of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. Bhaṭṭojī is known as a pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa,[1] whose son Śeṣa Vīreśvara was, as we have noted, a teacher of Jagannātha himself. Nāgojī was, thus, separated from Jagannātha roughly by two generations, and flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. The India office MS of his commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī* is dated in Māgha Saṃvat 1769=Feb. 1713 A.D.[2] Nāgojī was the teacher of Vaidyanātha, the Maithili grammarian, and of Gaṅgārāma, the great-grandfather of Maṇirāma (1802 A.D.).[3]

Nāgojī wrote the following commentaries on various works on Poetics: (1) *Guru-marma-prakāśikā* on Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*. (2) *Bṛhat* and *Laghu Uddyota* on Govinda's *Pradīpa* on Mammaṭa. (3) *Udāharaṇa-dīpikā* or °*Pradīpa* on Mammaṭa. (4) *Alaṃkāra-sudhā* and *Viṣamapada-vyākhyāna Ṣaṭpadānanda* on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*. (5) *Prakāśa* on

1 author of the *Pada-candrikā* and *Prakriyā-prakāśa*, and son and pupil of Śeṣa Narasiṃha or Nṛsiṃha. For the Śeṣa family of Benares see *IA*, 1912, p. 245f.—Nāgojī's relation to Jagannātha is illustrated thus:



2 *IOC* iii, p. 355 ; cf. Belvalkar's *Systems of Skt. Grammar*, p. 49.

3 Maṇirāma wrote a comm. on Jagannātha's *Bhāminī-vilāsa* in 1802 A.D. See *IOC* vii, p. 1526.

Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī*. (6) A commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*.

The relative chronology of some works of Nāgojī is fixed by P. K. Gode (*Oriental Thought* i, no. 2, 1955, pp. 45-52) between *circa* 1670 and 1750 A.D.

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Commentaries. (1) *Guru-marma-prakāśīkā* by Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. Printed in NSP and Benares ed. as noted above. (2) *Viṣamapadī*. Anonymous. Aufrecht i. 494b.

Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana

Edition. Ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, with *Citra-mīmāṃsā*, NSP, Bombay 1893, 1907.

CHAPTER IX

LATER WRITERS ON RASA AND KAVI-SIKṢĀ

WRITERS ON RASA

(1)

ŚĀRADĀTANAYA

Śāradātanaya, author of the *Bhāva-prakāśa*, °*prakāśikā* or °*prakāśana*, appears to have been a popular writer on the Rasas and Bhāvas, who is quoted extensively by Kumārasvāmin,[1] and in the *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana,[2] as well as by commentators like Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Raṅganātha[3] and Vāsudeva.[4] He is described as son of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and grandson of Kṛṣṇa, and great-grandson of Lakṣmaṇa of Kāśyapa-gotra who is said to have been a resident of Māṭarapūjya village in the Merūttara country of the Āryāvarta, and to have written a commentary on the Vedas, called the *Veda-bhūṣaṇa*. Our author was so named, because he was considered to have been born by the grace of Śāradā, worshipped in Benares. He learnt Nāṭya-śāstra from Divākara, and says that he is following Abhinavaguptācārya ; but his work in some parts is in reality a condensed epitome chiefly of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*, which it cites and practically summarises. This fact will place Śāradātanaya chronologically later than Bhoja ; and the citation of the *Bhāva-prakāśa* by Śiṅga-bhūpāla (pp. 20, 139, 169, 202 etc.) will fix its other terminus at 1330 A.D. We may, therefore, assign our author roughly to the period between 1100 and 1300 A.D.

Śāradātanaya cites Agastya (p. 2), Kohala, Mātṛgupta Subandhu and Āñjaneya (p. 251) as authorities on the dramatic

1 pp. 12, 15, 44, 68, 102, 106, 118, 121, 127, 129, 139, 143, 145, 219, 223 etc.

2 e g. on I. 3. 30.

3 on *Vikramo°*, ed. N. S. P. 1885, p. 10.

4 on *Karpūra-mañj°* ed. N.S.P. 1900, pp. 5, 7, etc.

art. The work consists of ten *adhikāras* as follows: 1 and 2. Bhāva. 3. Avāntara-bhāvabheda-svarūpa. 4. Śṛṅgārālambana-nāyakādi-svarūpa. 5. Nāyaka-bhedāvastha-rasa-bhāva-vikāra. 6. Śabdārtha-sambandha-bheda-prakāra. 7. Nāṭyetivṛttādi-lakṣaṇa. 8. Daśa-rūpaka-lakṣaṇa. 9. Nṛtyabheda-svarūpa-lakṣaṇa. 10. Nāṭya-prayoga-bheda-prakāra.

The *Kavi-kalpalatā* cited in this work (pp. 131, 175) is different from works of the same name of Arisiṃha and Deveśvara ; for our author believes that the *Kāvya-prakāśa* borrowed from it. For quotations in Śāradātanaya's work see *Adyar Library Bulletin* xix, 1-2, pp. 47-51.

Ed. Yadugiri Yatiraj of Melkote and K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in Gaekwad's Orient. Series 1930.

(2)

ŚIṄGA-BHŪPĀLA

Śiṅga-bhūpāla, whose name is also given as Śiṅga-dharaṇīśa Śiṅga-rāja or Śiṅga-mahīpati has been identified by Sesagiri Sastri with Śiṅgama Nāyaḍu, rājā of Veṅkaṭagiri who ruled, on the authority of a biographical sketch of the Rājās of Veṅkaṭagiri, about 1330 A.D.[1] This date is probable, as Mallinātha (on *Kumāra* i. 25, *iti bhūpālaḥ=Rāsārṇava* i. 181), as well as Kumārasvāmin, quotes our author. The introductory verses of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, attributed to this South Indian prince, show that he belonged to the Recarla dynasty, and ruled over the country lying between the Vindhyas and Śrīśaila, of which Rājācalam (Rācakoṇḍa) was the hereditary capital. He was the son of Ananta (or Anapota)

1 For detaills see *ŚgŚ* i, pp. 7-11 ; also introd. to Trivandrum ed. of the *Rasārṇava*°. M. T. Narasimha Aiyangar (ed. *Subhāṣita-nīvī*, Vanivilasa Press, Srirangam 1908) states that Śiṅgama Nāyaḍu, our author, was a contemporary of Prauḍha Devarāja of Vijayanagar (1422-1477 A.D.) ; but P. R. Bhandarkar in his Note on Śiṅga-bhūpāla (in *Proc. First Orient. Conf.* Poona, ii, 1916, p. 425) doubts the correctness of this date. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar would assign the period between 1340 and 1360 A. D. (*Proc. A-I.O.C.*, Mysore 1937, pp. 264-73).

and Annamāmbā, while his grandfather and great-grandfather were respectively named Śiṅga-prabhu (or Śiṅgama Nāyaka) and Yācama Nāyaka. Our author was, like Hemacandra, called *sarvajña* on account of his great knowledge, and was a patron of letters[1].

The *Rasārṇava*° appears to be mainly based on previous works like Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (Bhoja cited 57, 69, 149, 168, 190) and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśana* (cited pp. 139, 169, 202), although it draws directly on Bharata, Rudrabhaṭṭa (cited pp. 29, 30, 87), the *Daśa-rūpaka* and other authors and works on Rasa and Dramaturgy. The author Śiṅga-bhūpāla is in the third person throughout the work. We have a large number of dramas actually quoted or cited for illustration, among which may be noted: *Prabodha-candrodaya* (pp. 265, 291), *Anargha-rāghava* (72, 83, 261, 266, 274), *Prasanna-rāghava* (pp. 258, 277), *Dhanañjaya-vijaya-vyāyoga*[2] (p. 287), *Abhirāma-rāghava*[3] (*anapotanāyakīya* pp. 119, 243, 265, 273, 275), *Mādhavī-vīthikā* (p. 290), *Māyākuraṅgikā-īhāmṛga* (p. 298), *Padmāvatī* (p. 263, 266), *Kāma-datta*[4] (p. 285), *Rāmānanda* (pp. 248, 255, 269), *Karuṇākandala-aṅka* (pp. 163, 197, 198, 286), *Vīrabhadra-vijṛmbhaṇa-ḍima* (pp. 272, 274, 276, 278, 298), *Maheśvarānanda* (p. 275), *Ānandakośa-prahasana* pp. 40, 41, 278, 291, 297), *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī-bhāṇa*[5] (p. 288),

1 *ŚgŚ* loc. cit. 9.—For Viśveśvara Kavicandra's *Camatkāra-candrikā* panegyrising Śiṅga-bhūpāla who is called here *sarvajña*, see under Minor Writers below.

2 By Kāñcana, son of Nārāyaṇa, in Aufrecht i. 266b (ed. Kāvya-mālā 54, 1895).

3 A drama of this name was written by Maṇika in Nepal in 1390 A.D. (Lévi 268).

4 This little known work is also alluded to in the *Padmaprābhṛtaka-bhāṇa* (ed. Madras 1922), ascribed to Śūdraka. According to the editors of this Bhāṇa (Pref. p. iv), the *Kāma-datta* was a *prakaraṇa* composed by Śūdraka himself. This Bhāṇa is quoted anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 198, l. 12).

5 A *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī-bhāṇa* by Gopālarāya, son of Jakkula Veṅk-ṭendra and Vīramāmbā, is mentioned in Hultzsch i, extract p. 77 (no. 385), p. x.

Payodhimathana-samavakāra (p. 290), *Kandarpa-sarvasva* by himself (p. 151), and *Vīrānanda* (pp. 159, 160).

The *Rasārṇava* in three Vilāsas comprehends, with profuse illustrations, practically all the topics of Dramaturgy and Rasa. The topics, in brief, are as follow: Vilāsa I. Nāṭya-lakṣaṇa and Rasa-lakṣaṇa ; qualities and classification of the Nāyaka ; his assistants in love affairs : the qualities and classification of the Nāyikā ; incidental treatment of three Rītis (Gauḍī, Vaidarbhī and Pāñcālī), four dramatic Vṛttis (Sāttvatī, Kauśikī, Ārabhaṭī and Bhāratī), Pravṛttis and Sāttvika Bhāvas. II. Detailed treatment of 33 vyabhicāri- and 8 sthāyi-bhāvas ; aspects of Rati ; other Rasas besides Śṛṅgāra ; opposition and commixture (Saṃkara) of Rasas ; Rasābhāsa. III. Different kinds of Rūpaka and its subject-matter ; five Artha-prakṛtis ; Patākā-sthānaka ; five Avasthās ; five Saṃdhis with all their Aṅgas treated in detail ; Bhūṣaṇas ; Nāṭaka as the principal Rūpaka ; other types of Rūpaka ; languages to be employed ; naming of different characters. The printed text in the Trivandrum Skt. Series covers more than 300 pages.

Śiṅga-bhūpāla appears to have written a *Nāṭaka-paribhāṣā*[1], which topic is also treated briefly at the end of his *Rasārṇava*. Śiṅga-bhūpāla also wrote a work entitled *Saṃgīta-sudhākara* (ed. Kalivara Vedantavagisa and S. P. Ghosh, New Arya Press, Calcutta 1879) which appears to be a commentary on the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva.

Editions. (1) by Sarasvatisesa Sastri, Venkatagiri 1895. (2) by T. Ganapati Sastri in the Trivandrum Sansk. Series, 1916.

(3)

BHĀNUDATTA

Bhānudatta[2] is notable for his two popular works on the subject of Nāyaka-nāyikā and the Rasas, called the *Rasa-*

1 It is a small work of 289 verses. See *India Office Cat.* vol. ii (Keith and Thomas), no. 5248, p. 346.

2 The form Bhānukara of this name is given by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi's

mañjarī and the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. In the latter work, the author excuses himself[1] from giving further details about a certain point because, he says, they are already given in his *Rasa-mañjarī* which was, therefore, the earlier composition. Besides some verses from Bharata and Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* and a verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*[2], Bhānudatta cites a work called the *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā*[3], which may or may not be the same work as quoted by Ratnakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mammaṭa[4]. In the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*, Bhānudatta refers to Pūrvācāryāḥ, Pūrva-granthakāra-sammati and Prācīna-sammati. These citations, however, give us no clue to his exact date.

A lyrical poem, called the *Gīta-gaurīśa* or *Gīta-gaurīpati* in ten cantos, published in the Granthamālā 1887-88, also professes to have been composed by Bhānudatta, who is probably identical with our author[5]. As indicated by their respective writings, both the authors are Śaivas, and both possess poetical pretensions. Our Bhānudatta gives the name of his father as Gaṇeśvara[6], Gaṇapatinātha[7] or

°*Parimala*, Gopāla's °*Vikāsa* and Raṅgaśāyin's °*Āmoda* commentaries. The title *miśra* is also appended sometimes to the name.

1 *bahavo bhedāś ca rasa-mañjaryāṃ viśeṣato darśitāḥ, iha punar vistara-bhiyā na pradarśyanta iti*, ed. Granthamālā, p. 35 ; ed. Regnaud, p. 57, l. 32.

2 The verse *anaucityād ṛte* in *Dhva*° p. 145 is cited with the remark *tatra prācīna-granthakṛtaḥ*, implying that Bhānu was much younger than Ānandavardhana, in whose Vṛtti the verse occurs.

3 In *Rasa-taraṅg*° ed. Granthamālā *ad* i. 31 ; ed. Regnaud, p. 44, l. 32.

4 Peterson ii, 17. An incomplete MS of a work called by this name is entered in Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533, where the name of the author is given as Allarāja, which occurs as Mallarāja in Bühler *Rep.* 1874-75, no. 19, p. 16. See ch. on Minor Writers below under Allarāja.

5 Aufrecht apparently distinguished the two authors at first by separate entries under their name (i. 405), but later on (i. 793) he states that the author of the lyric "is most likely identical with the writer of the *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*." (MS described in *IOC* vii, pp. 1443-45).

6 *Rasa-mañj*°. 168.

7 *Rasa-taraṅg*°.ed. Regnaud p. 66, col.; also Weber 824.

Gaṇanātha[1], while the author of the poem describes himself as the son of Gaṇapati or Gaṇanātha[2]. There are also a few verses in the two works of our Bhānudatta which occur in the poem. Thus the *maṅgala*-verse of the *Rasa-mañjarī* (*ātmīyaṃ caraṇam*)=*Gīta-gaurīśa* ii, p. 90 ; *akaroḥ kimu netra°* in *Rasa-mañjarī* 51=*Gīta-gaurīśa* ii, p. 14 ; *prāṇeśasya prabhavati* in *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* iv, p. 40 ed. Granthamālā= *Gīta-gaurīśa* ii, p. 77. As the *Gīta-gaurīśa* is not a mere compilation in which we may expect verses from other writers, the presence of verses in it from the two works of Bhānudatta can be reasonably explained by a presumption of common authorship of the three works.

The *Gīta-gaurīśa* appears to have been modelled on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* which, like Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*, gave birth to numerous imitations in later times.[3] Even a cursory examination of these two works will show the close connexion between them ; and it is remarkable that not only the general scheme, but even the verses in some chapters of Bhānudatta's poem correspond in metre with those of Jayadeva's. Thus:

Jayadeva

pralaya-payodhi-jale dhṛtavān asi vedam
vihita-vahitra-caritram akhedam
keśava dhṛta-mīna-śarīra, jaya jagadīśa hare

and Bhānudatta

bhramsi jagati sakale pratilavam aviśeṣam

1 In MSS of *Rasa-taraṅg°* noticed in *ALeip* 835, Weber 1726.

2 *kavi-gaṇanātha-sutasya kaver iti vacanaṃ tri-jagati dhanyam*, ii, p. 50 ; *kṛta-hara-vinayo gaṇapati-tanayo nigadati hita-kāraṇam* ii, p. 58.

3 e.g. the *Gīta-gaṅgādhara* by Kālyaṇa, the *Gīta-girīśa* by Rāma, the *Gīta-digambara* by Vaṃśamaṇi (*HPS* i. 18), the *Gīta-rāghava* by Prabhākara, son of Bhūdhara, dated Saṃvat 1674 (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83 p. 9). A *Gīta-rāghava* by Hariśaṃkara is mentioned in *HPS* ii, no. 53. See also *Rāma-gīta-govinda* (*IOC* vii, p. 1480) characterised by Eggeling as "a weak imitation of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*" but attributed to Jayadeva. Eggeling quotes from Garcin de Tassy about such passing off of imitations of *Gīta-govinda* for that of Jayadeva. Cf. Pischel, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* p. 23.

śamayitum iva jana-khedam aśeṣam
purahara kṛta-māruta-veśa, jaya bhuvanādhipate.

Again, Jayadeva

nibhṛta-nikuñja-gṛhaṃ gatayā niśi rahasi nilīya vasantam
cakita-vilokita-sakala-diśā rati-rabhasa-rasena hasantam
sakhi he keśi-mathanam udāram
ramaya mayā saha madana-manoratha-bhavitayā savikāram

and Bhānudatta

abhinava-yauvana-bhūṣitayā dara-taralita-locana-tāram
kiṃcid-udañcita-vihasitayā calad-avirala-pulaka-vikāram
sakhi he śaṃkaram udita-vilāsam
saha saṃgamaya mayā natayā rati-kautuka-darśita-hāsam.

These two extracts, taken at random, will show how close the imitation is. We may presume reasonably from this that Bhānudatta's work was written some time after Jayadeva's lyric had achieved sufficient literary reputation to be thus imitated. Whether we place Jayadeva in the first or second half of the 12th century, Bhānudatta cannot be put earlier than that century, and this conclusion gives us one terminus to his date.

The other terminus is furnished by the date of one of the commentaries on the *Rasa-mañjarī*, called the *Rasamañjarī-vikāsa* (or *-vilāsa*) by Gopāla (*alias* Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṃha, which is expressly dated in 1572 A. D.[1] In the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, which was

1 Stein, *Jammu Cat.* p. 63, corrected at p. 421, also p. 273. As to the date of this commentary and the era used, see below Bibliography.—Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, quotes (p. 280) the authority of a work called *Rasa-mañjarī* to show that *viraha-*

compiled about 1363 A.D., several verses are cited under the names of Bhānu-paṇḍita and Vaidya Bhānu-paṇḍita (790, 973, 1032, 1271, 3328, 3685), none of which, however, can be traced in the known works of our author. Jahlaṇa, whose anthology (ed. GOS, Baroda 1938) was compiled about the middle of the 13th century, also quotes and ascribes to Bhānu-paṇḍita and Vaidya Bhānu-paṇḍita as many as 36 verses, which are similarly untraceable, but three of which are found under the same citation in the *Paddhati* (790=p 68, 973=p. 107, and 3328=p. 183). It may, however, be presumed that the author of the *Rasa-mañjarī* was not unknown at this period, and that in the anthologies the epithets *vaidya* and *paṇḍita* were annexed to an earlier or later Bhānu in order to distinguish him from our author, whose namesake he was[1].

A closer approximation of Bhānudatta's date is possible if any inference is permissible from the mention of Nijāma-dharaṇīpāla in the *Rasa-mañjarī*. It is suggested[2] that the Nizam referred to as ruler of Davagiri by Ananta Paṇḍita's commentary is Ahmad Nizam Shah, who obtained possession of Daulatabad (Devagiri) sometime between 1499 and 1507 A.D. and founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Dekkan. P. V. Kane brings in fresh evidence by pointing out (*HSP*, p. 296-

vipralambha is also termed *praṇaya-māna*. It is not clear whether the reference is to Bhānudatta, for the dictum cannot be traced in his *Rasa-mañjarī*.

1 In the *Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa* of Govindaji (Bhandarkar *Rep*. 1887-91, p. lxiii) we have selections from the poems of Bhānukara and Bhānu-paṇḍita, by which obviously a distinction, is meant between the two poets.—Har Datta Sarma (*ABORI*, xvii, 1936, pp. 243-58), relying chiefly on the ascription of a large number of Bhānudatta's verses to poet Bhānukara by some late anthologies, suggests their identity, which is very doubtful. See on this question G. V. Devasthali in *NIA*, vii, 1944, pp. 111-17 ; P. K. Gode in *Ind. Culture* iii. pp. 751-56 and S. K. De, *Some Problems*, p. 147.

2 S. K. De in *Some Problems*, p. 144-45. But Ramnath Jha (*Journal of Patna Univ*. iii, no. 1-2) thinks that the Nizam is the second ruler of the dynasty, and Kṛṣṇa (so interpreted also by Ananta Paṇḍita) is Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar (1509-1530).

97) that Bhānudatta married a sister of the Smṛti-writer Misaru Miśra, author of *Vivādacandra*, who flourished in the middle of the 15th century. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to assign Bhānudatta to a period between 1450 and 1500 A.D.

In the last verse of the *Rasa-mañjarī*, Bhānudatta's native country is given as Videha (*videhabhūḥ*)[1] or Mithila, which agrees with Burnell's description of Bhānudatta as a native of Mithila. As a Maithili writer, it is not surpising that he was acquainted with the Gauḍīya Jayadeva's well-known lyric, and tried to emulate it with a similar work on Śiva and Gaurī. In another work called *Kumāra-bhārgavīya*[2] attributed to Bhānudatta, the author is called the son of Gaṇapati or Gaṇanātha (obviously the same as our author), and his pedigree is given thus: Ratneśvara→ Sureśvara (author of a *Śārīraka-bhāṣya-vārttika*)→ Viśvanātha→ Ravinātha→ Bhavanātha→ Mahādeva→ Gaṇapati→ Bhānudatta. Gaṇapati appears to have been a poet whose verses are quoted by Bhānudatta himself in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. A poet Gaṇapati is praised, in a verse ascribed to one Rājaśekhara in Jahlaṇa's anthology (p. 45), as the author of a work called *Mahāmoda*. An *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* in five chapters and a *Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā* are also attributed to our Bhānudatta.

The *Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā* is not available, but the *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* has been published[3]. It is written in mixed prose and verse and cover the usual topics of Sanskrit Poetics. The first Pariccheda speaks of Kāvya, of which Rasa is declared

1 In Madras ed. of 1872, as well as in the MSS noticed by Aufrecht (*Bod. Cat.* 213b) and Bhandarkar (*Rep.* 1883-84 p. 12), the reading *vidarbhabhūḥ* is a mislection; for the author represents the river Ganges as flowing through his country, which is true of Videha and not of Vidarbha. Cf. Weber ii no. 1726. The title *miśra*, often appended to Bhānudatta's name, would indicate that he was a Maithili Brahman, and that he was probably *not* a *Vaidya*.

2 The work is in 12 Ucchvāsas in mixed prose and verse. See *IOC* vii p. 1540, where the genealogical verses are quoted in full.

3 By G. V. Devasthali in *JBRAS* (New Series), xxiii-xxv (1947-49).

to be the soul, and deals with its three varieties, Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. It then goes on to six Rītis and four Vṛttis (Kaiśikī etc.). The second and third Paricchedas are devoted respectively to Doṣa and Guṇa, in the treatment of which the work closely follows Bhoja. The fourth and fifth Paricchedas deal with Alaṃkāras of Śabda and Artha respectively, enumerated as 77. A work of the author's called *Citra-candrikā* is cited.

The *Rasa-mañjarī* is a much smaller work which deals generally, with illustrations, the topics of Nāyaka-Nāyikā, their adjuncts and excellences, the two varieties of Śṛṅgāra, and ten stages of Vipralambha-Śṛṅgāra. The *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*, divided into eight Taraṅgas, deals more elaborately with Rasas, with a detailed treatment of Śṛṅgāra. The chapter-arrangement of topics is as follows: (i) Sthāyi-bhāva (ii) Vibhāva (iii) Anubhāva (iv) Sāttvika-bhāva (v) Vyabhicāri-bhāva (vi) Śṛṅgāra Rasa (vii) Other Rasas (viii) Three kinds of Dṛṣṭi in relation to Sthāyi-bhāva, etc.

The commentaries on the two works of Bhānudatta, as detailed below, are numerous. Of these, the *Naukā* on *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi, and the *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* and °*Prakāśa* on *Rasa-mañjarī* by Ananta-paṇḍita and Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa respectively have been published.

Bhānudatta also appears to have compiled an anthology called *Rasa-pārijāta* (printed by Matilal Banarsidas, Lahore 1939).

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Rasa-mañjarī

Editions. (1) In Kāvya-saṃgraha of Jīvānanda Vidyasagar, 2nd. ed. Calcutta 1886. (2) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga, with Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī of Ananta Paṇḍita and °Prakāśa of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, Benares Skt. Series, 1904. (3) ed. Venkatarama Sastri in Telugu characters, Madras 1909. (4) In *Grantha-ratna-mālā* vol. 1. Our references are to the Benares ed.

Commentaries. (1) *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* by Ananta Paṇḍita, son of Tryambaka Paṇḍita (Timaji) and grandson of

Bālo Paṇḍita, and great-grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha Paṇḍita. His native place was Puṇyastambha (Puntambem in Ahmednagar) on the Godāvarī. The comm. was written at Benares in Saṃvat 1692=1636 A. D. at the request of Candrabhānu, son of Vīrasenadeva and grandson of Madhukara. The date of composition is specified in the concluding verse which is given in the India Office MS (Eggeling, *IOC* iii, p. 356), but omitted in the printed text. Ed. as above. Ananta also wrote a *Mudrārākṣasa-pūrvapīṭhikā* (Mitra 1654), and a commentary on *Govardhana-saptaśatī* in 1645 A.D. (ed. N.S.P. Bombay, 1886).

(2) °*Prakāśa* by Nāgojī or Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, for whom see under Jagannātha. Ed. as above. *IOC*, iii, no. 1222/2602 ; *BORI Cat.* xii, nos. 223-25, p. 258f.

(3) °*Parimala* by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṃha and younger brother of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. Extract in Mitra 3115, vol. ix p. 194, and Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 365. The MS in Mitra appears to have been copied in Saṃvat 1609 (=1552-53 A.D.) ; but the MS in Bhandarkar bears no date. There are six MSS of this comm. in *BORI Cat.* xii, nos. 217-222 ; see also *IOC* iii, nos. 1226-27, p. 357. Cintāmaṇi also wrote several other works including one on Prosody called *Chandaḥ-prakāśa* (Aufrecht 189a).

(4) °*Vikāsa* (or °*Vilāsa*) by Gopāla Ācārya, *alias* Vopadeva of Kauṇḍinya-gotra, son of Nṛsiṃha and grandson of Gopāla of Jabala-grāma in the Mahārāṣṭra country, and pupil of Meṅganātha. He calls his author Bhānukara. The comm. is dated in Saṃvat 1484=1428 A. D. See *Jammu Cat.* no. 1221 (extract). Sridhara Bhandarkar however, points out (*Rep. of Second Tour* 1904-06, p. 36) that the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr. p. 273), but he thinks that it is Śaka era, in which case the date of the commentary will be 1572 A. D. See P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35) pp. 145-47.

(5) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa

Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa and grandson of Nṛsiṃha Bhaṭṭa. He also wrote a comm. on Rudra's *Śṛṅg. til*. There is also a commentator of the same name on Mammaṭa. They may all be identical. See above pp. 95, 161. MSS: Aufrecht i. 495b, ii. 116a, iii. 106a ; *BORI MSS Cat*. xii, nos. 226-30 (extracts). The commentary by Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa in *Oudh Cat*. xi. 10 is probably a mistake for this comm. of his son. For Gopāla's other works see Aufrecht i. 161.

(6) *Samañjasā* or *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* by Viśveśvara, son of Lakṣmīdhara, for whom see the chapter on Minor Writers below. MSS: Aufrecht i. 495b, ii. 116a, iii. 106a.

(7) °*Āmoda* by Raṅgaśāyin *alias* Gurujālaśāyin or Gurujāla Raṅgaśāyin, who is said to have studied under Mahādeśika of Vādhūla-gotra and under his own paternal uncle Anantācārya. He is described as son of Dharmācārya of Cilukamari family. He was a Śrīvaiṣṇava. V. Raghavan points out that Gurujāla is a village in Palnad Taluq in Guntur district ; the author's real name was thus Raṅgaśāyin. Chilakamari is in the East Godavari district ; this epithet attached to the names of his father and grandfather shows that this must have been their original home. Raṅgaśāyin frequently criticises *Parimala* which, as noted above, cannot be later than 1553 A. D. He quotes also *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya, as well as *Prauḍha-manoramā* of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, whose literary activity belongs to the last quarter of the 16th century. Raṅgaśāyin, therefore, may be assigned to the 1st half of the 17th century A.D. Besides the *Āmoda* commentary he wrote a *Śṛṅgāra-laharī* which he himself quotes. *Madras Cat*. xxii, 12941-42, (extracts).

(8) *Vyaṅgyārtha-dīpikā* by Ānanda Śarman, son of Tryambaka. Aufrecht i. 495a. ii. 116a.

(9) *Bhānu-bhāva-prakāśinī* by Mahādeva. *Tanjore Cat* ix, no. 5284, p. 4070.

(10) *Rasika-rañjana* by Vrajarāja Dīkṣita, son of Kāmarāja and father of Jīvarāja. *North Western Pov. Cat*.

1877-86, ii. 120. See below under Jīvarāja's comm. on *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. Burnell wrongly enters *Rasika-rañjana* as a commentary by "the author of the text." It appears from *Madras Cat.* xx, Kāvya, p. 8008 that Vrajarāja wrote an independent poem, entitled *Rasika-rañjana*, in three Stabakas, describing feminine attractions and charms. Are the two works identical?

(11) *Rasamañjarī-sthūla-tātparyārtha*. *IOC* iii, 1230/1543, p. 358.

Rasa-taraṅgiṇī

Editions. (1) with Naukā of Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi, in Puthi form, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1886 (2) in *Grantha-ratna-mālā* vol. i. 1887-88 (3) ed. Regnaud in his *Rhêtorique Sanskrite*, Paris 1884 (text in Roman transliteration).

Commentaries. (1) °*Naukā* by Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi or Jaḍin. *Madras Cat.* xxii 12930 (extract)-31. This commentary is dated in Saṃvat 1799=1742-43 A.D. (P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xiii, p. 186). Gaṅgārāma is also the author of an independent work called *Rasa-mīmāṃsa* (ed. with the author's Chāyā, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1885), in which he refers to his *Naukā*. He was son of Nārāyaṇa and pupil of Nīlakaṇṭha, and also wrote two works on logic, one of which is *Tarkāmṛta-caṣaka*; in it he gives the names of his father and preceptor (see Aufrecht i. 140). This is a comm. on the *Tarkāmṛta* of Jagadīśa. On Gaṅgārāma Jaḍi see G. V. Devasthali in *Journal of Univ. Bombay*, xi, pt. 2, 1942, pp. 84-88.

(2) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Veṇīdatta Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, son of Vīreśvara and grandson of Lakṣmaṇa. From a corrupt verse giving the date Eggeling (*IOC*, no. 1216) surmises that the commentary was dated is 1553 A. D.; but G. V. Devasthali (*IA* v, 1942, p. 195f) shows that this early date cannot be accepted. In his opinion the work belongs to the beginning of the 18th century, about 1708 A. D. The author belonged to the Ahicchatra-dhara Kula,

and his genealogy is thus given: Mahīdhara (a Māntrika of Kāśīpati and author of *mantra-mahodadhi*)→Kalyāṇa→ Lakṣmaṇa→Vīreśvara→Veṇīdatta. Veṇīdatta also wrote an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṃkāra-candrodaya.* See under Minor Writers below. MSS: Aufrecht i. 494b, ii. 115b, 220a, iii. 106a; *IOC* iii, no 1216/1703a p. 354 (extract); *Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12932.

(3) °*Setu* or °*Setu-bandha* by Jīvarāja, son of Vrajarāja Dīkṣita (see bibliography above under *Rasa-mañjarī*). MSS: Aufrecht i. 494b, ii. 220a, iii. 106a. The *Rasa-setu* in Aufrecht i. 494b is probably the same commentary. He was the great-grandson of Sāmarāja Dīkṣita (*q. v.* under Minor Writers), who lived in the latter part of the 17th century. He speaks of Gāṅgārāma's comm. *Naukā* with contempt (introd. verse 9). Extract in *Ulwar Cat.* no. 226.

(4) *Rasodadhi* by Gaṇeśa. MS dated 1698 A. D. Bühler, *Cat. Gujarat, Kathiawad* etc. 3. 54.

(5) *Rasodadhi* by Mahādeva. Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* 104.

(6) *Sāhitya-sudhā* or *Kāvya-sudhā* by Nemiśāha, son of Bhīmaśāha, described as *mahārājādhirāja.* Aufrecht i. 494b, iii. 106a. See *Cat. BORI M S* xii, pp. 234-35. P. K. Gode (*Cal. Orient. Journal.* i, pp. 217-20) would identify the author with Nemi Shah II of Jawhar line of chiefs in Bombay Presidency—about 1650 A D.

(7) *Nūtana-tarī* by Bhagavadbhaṭṭa. Aufrecht i. 494b.

(8) Comm. by Ayodhyāprasāda. Aufrecht i. 494b. The author also commented on the *Vṛtta-ratnākara.*

(9) Comm. by Dinakara. Aufrecht ii. 115b. Possibly this is the comm. ascribed to Nemiśāha, mentioned above, who was Dinakara's patron, as the nominal author.

Alaṃkāra-tilaka

Ed. G. V. Devasthali in *JBRAS,* New Series, xxiii pp. 57-82, xxiv-xxv pp. 92-120 (1947-49). The name of the author is given as Bhānukara in Burnell 54a and Bhau Daji Catalogue. The work is in five paricchedas (Peterson vi, App. p. 29).

Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā

Aufrecht i. 661a (=*Oudh Cat.* iii. 12).

(4)

Following upon these, we have innumerable works of a similar nature which take Rasa, especially Śṛṅgāra, as its principal theme, and which were composed apparently with the purpose of guiding the poet with rules and illustrations in the composition of erotic pieces so popular and profuse in Sanskrit literature. The most important of these works and their authors will be mentioned in the chapter on Minor Writers below.

Some Vaiṣṇava authors, like Rūpa Gosvāmin, however, attempt to bring Vaiṣṇava ideas to bear upon the general theme of poetic or dramatic Rasa. We shall, for convenience of treatment, take them in a group here.

RŪPA AND JĪVA GOSVĀMIN

Rūpa Gosvāmin, son of Kumāra and grandson of Mukunda, is the author of numerous Vaiṣṇava works, including the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*, which give an analysis and exposition of Bhakti-rasa on the analogy of the orthodox Rasa, especially the Śṛṅgāra or Erotic. He is well known as a contemporary of Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal, and must have, therefore, flourished towards the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. This date is confirmed by the dates which some of his works bear. His *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* and *Vidagdha-mādhava* were composed respectively in 1495 and 1533 A.D.[1] ; while his *Lalita-mādhava*, *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Utkalikā-vallarī* are dated respectively in 1537, 1541 and 1550 A.D. The most flourishing period of Rūpa's literary activity thus falls between 1533 and 1550 A.D., but it must have begun as early as 1495 A.D.

1 For information about these authors see S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta 1942.

The commentary *Lacana-rocanī* on *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* was composed by his nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, son of his younger brother Vallabha (*alias* Anupama).[1] His *Mādhava-mahotsava* was composed in 1555 A.D. and his *Gopāla-campū* bears the dates 1589 and 1592 A.D.

Rūpa Gosvāmin also appears to have written a treatise on Dramaturgy called *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, which is quoted in the commentary on the *Vidagdha-mādhava* and in the *Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī* on the *Bhāgavata*. At the commencement of this work, Rūpa Gosvāmin states that in composing it he consulted the Bharata-śāstra and *Rasa-sudhākara* (*Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla), and rejected generally (i. 2) the treatment of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as being opposed to Bharata's views. The topics dealt with in eight sections are: (1) general characteristics of a drama, (2) the hero (nāyaka), (3) the divisions of a Rūpaka (nāndī etc), (4) elements in the action (saṃdhi, patākā etc) and their classification, (5) arthopakṣepaka and its divisions (viṣkambhaka etc), (6) division of acts and scenes, (7) distribution of dialects (bhāṣā-vidhāna), (8) styles of dramatic composition (vṛtti) and their employment according to the Rasa intended. The work is not a small one, and the illustrations taken mostly from Vaiṣṇava works are fairly minute and numerous. In his *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* Rūpa gives illustrative verses from most of his own poetical and dramatic productions, such as *Uddhava-dūta*, *Vidagdha-mādhava*, *Dānakeli-kaumudī* and other works[2]. A *Rasāmṛta-śeṣa* is also attributed to Rūpa.

1 On the question of date see S. K. De, *Padyāvalī* (ed. Dacca Univ. 1934) pp. li-liii. A list of Rūpa's works will be found on pp. xlix-l.

2 For a list of his works see also S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement* pp. 113-118 ; also analysis of *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* at pp. 126-167. This work may also be consulted for the novel application of the orthodox Rasa-theory to the doctrine of Bhakti and for an exposition of the erotic mysticism in these Vaiṣṇava works, which expresses religious longings in the language and imagery of earthly passion. The question is, therefore, not discussed here.

VIŚVANĀTHA CAKRAVARTIN

Viśvanātha Cakravartin, who wrote the commentary, called *Ānanda-candrikā* or *Ujjvala-nilamaṇī-kiraṇa*, lived at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century; for he composed a commentary called *Sārārtha-darśinī* on the *Bhāgavata* in Śaka 1626=1704 A.D., while his *Ānanda-candrikā* is also dated in Śaka 1618=1696 A.D. He also wrote, besides several Vaiṣṇava works, a commentary on the *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra, mentioned below. He mentions a work called *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Nārayāṇa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* (ed. NSP, p. 25).

KAVIKARṆAPŪRA

Paramānanda-dāsa Sena Kavikarṇapūra described as the youngest son of Śivānanda Sena and pupil of Śrīnātha, wrote a work called *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha.* The author was a well-known Vaiṣṇava of Bengal belonging to the Vaidya family, and wrote several Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava works, including a metrical life of Caitanya (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1884) and a drama on the same theme (*Caitanya-candrodaya*, ed. Bibl. Ind. 1854). His drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* was composed in Śaka 1494 or 1501=1572 or 1579 A.D.[1], and his *Gaurāṅga-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* was composed in 1576 A.D.[2] His father Śivānanda was an elder disciple of Caitanyadeva, who used to organise and lead the annual

1 The date is given in the verse: *śāke caturdaśa-śate ravi-vāji-yukte*/, *gauro harir dharaṇi-maṇḍala āvirāsīt*/*tasmin catur-navati-bhāji tadīya-līlā-*/*grantho'yam āvirabhavat katamasya vaktrāt*, which tells us that Gaurahari or Caitanya was born in Śaka 1407, and that the drama, which deals with him, was written in Śaka 1494 or 1501=1572 or 1579 A.D. See discussion about the date in *Vaiṣṇava Faith* mentioned above. Aufrecht is incorrect in stating that it was composed in 1543 A.D. (But see Sten Konow *Ind. Drama* p. 93, section 104). For the author and his works see S. K. De, *Padyāvalī* (ed. Dacca Univ. 1934), pp. 188-90 and *Vaiṣṇava Faith* and *Movement* pp. 32-34.

2 *HPS* ii p. 50, as well as *ALeip* 721, reads *śāke vasu-graha-mite* which gives 1576 or 1577 A.D. but *IOC* no. 2510 reads *śāke rasārasa-mite* which would give 1540 A.D.

exodus of Caitanya's followers to Puri from Bengal. Mitra in the introduction to his edition of the drama (p. vi) says that Kavikarṇapūra was born in 1524 A.D. at Kāñcanapallī (Kāñcḍāpāḍā) in Nadiya a few years before Caitanya's death. The *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* is composed in ten *kiraṇas*, as follow: 1 Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, 2 Śabdārtha, 3 Dhvani, 4 Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya, 5 Rasa-bhāva-tadbheda, 6 Guṇa, 7 Śabdālaṃkāra, 8 Arthālaṃkāra, 9 Rīti, 10 Doṣa[1]. It is thus a more comprehensive work than Rūpa Gosvāmin's and the Vaiṣṇavite proclivities are not so prominent; but most of the illustrative verses are in praise of Kṛṣṇa and the subject-matter follows the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in treatment. The commentaries on this work are noticed below.

KAVICANDRA

Kavicandra describes himself[2] as a physician and as son of Kavikarṇapūra and Kauśalyā, grandson of Vidyāviśārada, and father of Kavibhūṣaṇa and Kavivallabha belonging to the Datta family of Dīrghāṅka-grāma. He wrote a *Cikitsā-ratnāvalī*[3] in Śaka 1583 (=1661 A.D.) where the same personal history is given. The date precludes his identification with the poet of the same name quoted in the anthology called *Padyāvalī*[4]. He wrote, among other works, a *Kāvya-candrikā* in 15 *prakāśas* dealing with (1) kāvya-lakṣaṇa, (2) śabda-śakti, (3) rasa, (4) bhāva, (5) rasa-bheda, (6) rasābhāsa, (7) kāvya-bheda, (8) pramāṇa-

1 For a detailed résumé of its contents see Mitra 1662.

2 *IOC*, iii, pp. 344-45; *ABod* pp. 211-12.

3 *IOC*, v, pp. 958-59. Aufrecht (ii. 166) mentions the date with a query, but the date appears to be correct.

4 See ed. S. K. De, Dacca Univ. 1934, nos. 162, 166, 188, 189, 190-191. See also *IOC* vii, p. 1534, at p. 1535. The verses quoted from Kavicandra's work in *ABod* 212a gives the same account of the author, and the colophon says: *iti dīrghāṅka-grāma-nivāsi-dattakulodbhava-vaidya-śrī-kavicandra-viracitāyām* etc. It is, therefore, not possible that Paramānanda Sena Kavikarṇapūra, author of the *Caitanya-candrodaya*, is identical with Kavikarṇapūra, father of Kavicandra.

nirūpaṇa, (9) rīti, (10) guṇa, (11) śabdālaṃkāra, (12) arthālaṃkāra, (13) doṣa, (14) kavitopāya, and (15) nāṭya[1]. He quotes, besides older authors, the *Kavi-kalpalatā*, *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, *Rāmacandra-campū*, *Ratnāvalī-kāvya*, *Śānti-candrikā*, *Stavāvalī* and an author called Puruṣottama, as well as two of his own works called *Sāra-laharī* and *Dhātu-candrikā*. His date would be latter half of the 17th century.

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Commentaries. (1) *Locana-rocanī* by Jīva Gosvāmin, the name often confused with that of Sanātana Gosvāmin in the Catalogues. Published with the text, as noted above. (2) *Ānanda-candrikā* (also °*Kiraṇa* which is a summary) by Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i. 62a. Published in NSP ed. of the text, as noted above. The comm. °*Kiraṇa-leśa* in Mitra 580 (also in *SCC* vii. 5 ; Kathvate *Rep.* 1891-95, 318) is probably this commentary. (3) *Āgama-candrikā* and *Ātma-prabodhikā*. Aufrecht i. 62a. (4) An anonymous °*Ṭīkā* in *SCC* vii. 3.

Nāṭaka-candrikā

Edition. Rasavihari Samkhyatirtha, with a Bengali trans. (in Bengali characters), Kashimbazar 1907. MSS: Aufrecht i. 284b, ii. 61b, 207b. Extract in *Ulwar Cat.* 1061 and Mitra 3160 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii. 12900.

Rasāmṛta-śeṣa

Aufrecht ii. 220b. Also called *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-śeṣa*. Ed.

1 Aufrecht's Bodleian MS contains eight *prakāśas* named after the first eight topics given here; but our enumeration follows the India Office MS. Cf. Regnaud p. 377.

Haridas Das, Haribole Kutir, Navadvipa 1941 in Bengali characters.

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha

Editions. With the commentary of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Murshidabad 1899, in Bengali characters. Also ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, with an anonymous comm. and a gloss, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, vol. i (ch. i-v), 1923 in Devanāgarī characters.

Commentaries. (1) *Sāra-bodhinī* by Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht iii. 7b. Published with the text, as noted above. (2) *Ṭippaṇī* by Sārvabhauma, pupil of Cakravartin, Dacca Univ. MS nos. 2363, 2394, 3471. (3) °*Dīdhiti prakāśikā* by Vṛndāvanacandra Tarkālaṃkāra Cakravartin, son of Rādhācaraṇa Kavīndra Cakravartin. *IOC* iii, 1195/240, p. 344. (4) °*Ṭīkā* by Lokanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i. 31b. This is printed anonymously in the Varendra Research Soc. ed. mentioned above as an 'old commentary'.

Kāvya-candrikā

MSS: Aufrecht i. 101a ; *KBod* 499. The Bodleian MS appears to contain 16 Prakāśas.

WRITERS ON KAVI-ŚIKṢĀ

ARISIṂHA, AMARACANDRA AND DEVEŚVARA

(1)

The Śvetāmbara Jainas, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, are notable in Sanskrit Poetics for a work on the composition of verses called the *Kavitā-rahasya* or *Kāvya-kalpalatā* and its commentary entitled *Kaviśikṣā-vṛtti.* This work was composed in part by Arisiṃha and completed by Amaracandra[1],

1 *kiṃcic ca tad-racitam ātmakṛtaṃ ca kiṃcit/vyākhyāsyate tvarita-kāvya-kṛte'tra sūtram*, says the Vṛtti.

who also wrote the commentary[1]. Arisiṃha, described as son of Lāvaṇyasiṃha or Lavaṇasiṃha, wrote also a poem called *Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana* (ed. Bhavnagar 1917) in honour of his patron Vastupāla (d. 1242 A.D.), the Jaina minister of the Dholkā Rāṇā Vīradhavala ; and he also lived in the time of Vīradhavala's son Vīsaladeva[2] (1243-66 A.D.). Amaracandra appears to be a more prolific writer, being also the author of the *Jinendra-carita* (otherwise called *Padmānanda-kāvya*)[3], the *Bāla-bhārata*[4] and a grammatical work called *Syādiśabda-samuccaya* (Aufrecht i. 180).[5] Rājaśekhara Sūri, the Jaina author of the *Prabandha-kośa* (p. 61, ed. Singhi Jaina Granthamālā), also attributes a *Sūktāvali* and a *Kalā-kalāpa.* In the Vṛtti to the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* itself, three other works by Amaracandra are cited, viz. the *Chandoratnāvalī*, a work on Prosody (p. 6), *Kāvya-kalpalatā-parimala*[6] (pp. 19, 63), probably an epitome or continuation of the work of that name, and an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṃkāra-prabodha* (p. 117).

Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadatta Sūri[7] of the Vāyaḍa-gaccha, who is identified with the author of the *Viveka-vilāsa* and who lived about the first half of the 13th century[8]. Amaracandra appears to have been a pupil or a

1 The colophon calls the Vṛtti *kavi-śikṣā-vṛtti*. Bühler thinks, from i. 1 and 2, that the original Kārikā-verses of Arisiṃha were called *Kavitā-rahasya*, while Amaracandra's Vṛtti was entitled *Kāvya-kalpalatā.*

2 See the question discussed in detail in Bühler, *Das Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana des Arisiṃha*, Wien 1889, pp. 5f, 38 ; also *IA*, vi 210-12. Amaracandra is said to have added a postscript or Sargānta-śloka to the *Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana.* It is a Kāvya in 11 cantos (ed. Jaina Ātmananda Sabhā, Bhavnagar 1917). See *IA*, xxxi, pp. 477-95.

3 Ed. H. R. Kapadia, GOS, Baroda 1932.

4 Ed. in Kāvyamālā 45, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1894 ; also ed. in the *Pandit* iv-vi, (1869-72).

5 Ed. Chandraprabha Press, Benares 1915.

6 Cf. *IOC* 848, which has a reference to *Kāvya-kalpalatā-mañjarī.*

7 See the concluding verse of the *Bāla-bhārata* and the colophon to the *Kāvya-kalpalatā.*

8 See Peterson i, p. 58-59 ; but Peterson's conjecture about Jinadatta

fellow-student of Arisiṃha[1] and lived, according to the account given in Jaina Rājaśekhara's work[2], in time of Vīradhavala and his minister Vastupāla, as well as in that of Vīsaladeva, before the latter's accession to the throne of Aṇhilvāḍ, i.e. about the second quarter or the middle of the 13th century.

The *Kāvya-kalpalatā* consists of four Pratānas, namely, I. Chandaḥ-siddhi, II. Śabda-siddhi, III. Śleṣa-siddhi, and IV. Artha-siddhi. For a full account see Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.* no. 497 and *IOC* iii, no 1183/848, pp. 340-41.

(2)

The date of Deveśvara, author of the *Kavi-kalpalatā*, can be approximately settled from the internal evidence supplied by the work itself; for it closely follows, in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra's work; and it is not difficult to show that he also copies wholesale from the text of his predecessors. He borrows literally most of the rules and definitions, and even repeats the illustrative stanzas. Thus, Deveśvara pp. 157-60 (*veṇyāḥ sarpāsi°*) and pp. 36-7 (*ratnādi yatra*) = Arisiṃha pp. 135-37 and pp. 30-1; the definition of *adbhuta-vidhi* in Arisiṃha p. 93 = Deveśvara p. 130. This copying is not sporadic but systematic, and is found practically throughout the work, so that it is highly probable that Deveśvara had the text of the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* before him, when he composed

is not right; see also Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, p. 258; Peterson iv, pp. viii, xxxvi and App. 115; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 6, 156; Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 25, 48. Jinadatta Sūri's *Viveka-vilāsa* is dated 1220 A.D.

1 Rājaśekhara Sūri says that Amara was a pupil of Arisiṃha. Cf. Sridhar Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1904-6. pp. 23-24; Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 5-6.: *contra* Bhandarkar.—One of the sketches of Rājaśekhara's *Prabandha-kośa* deals with Amaracandra.

2 His work is dated in 1348 A.D. See introd. to Amara's *Bāla-bhārata*, ed. Kāvyamālā. Rājaśekhara Sūri was a pupil of Tilaka Sūri of Koṭika Gaṇa (Peterson iv, p. cv).

his own work on the same subject. This gives us one terminus to his date at the middle of the 13th century.

The other terminus is given by the fact that a verse of Deveśvara's (*nāga-viśeṣe śeṣe* p. 155) is quoted under his name in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara (545, *deveśvarasya*). As this anthology was compiled about 1363 A.D., we get the middle of the 14th century as the other terminus. Allowing half a century to elapse between Deveśvara and Arisiṃha, on the one hand, and a similar period of time between Deveśvara and the compiler of the *Paddhati*, on the other, we may roughly fix the beginning of the 14th century as his approximate date.

Deveśvara describes himself as son of Vāgbhaṭa, who was a *mahāmātya* to some prince of Mālava (?) ; and in one of the *samasyā-ślokas*, there is a panegyric of Hammīra-mahīmahendra, who is apparently the Cauhan prince of that name who reigned about 1283-1301 A.D.[1]

(3)

Two other Kavi-śikṣā works by Jaina authors are known, namely, by Ācārya Vinayacandra (about 1250 A.D.) and by Jaymaṅgala who wrote in the times of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A. D.). A large part of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* is concerned with similar topics. There is another work on *Kavi-śikṣa* by Gaṅgādāsa, the well-known author of *Chandomañjarī*. It appears to be an elementary treatise on miscellaneous topics, such as Chandaḥ-kathana, Sāmānya-

1 See S. K. De in *JRAS* 1922, pp. 577f on the date of Deveśvara. In the footnote there, omit the words "from the author's own comment on the word." Deveśvara also refers to another work of his, called *Candra-kalāpa* (*matkṛta-candrakalāpe'mala-matibhis tad budhair jñeyam, ŚgŚ* ii, p. 225 ; also in Bibl. Ind. ed.). The variant in the Calcutta edition (1900) reads (p. 42) instead *matkṛta-kavikalpalatā-parimalatas°*, while an alternative reading noticed in the Bibl. Indica ed. (p. 52) is *matkṛta-kavi-kalpalatāyām amala-matibhiḥ*.

śabda, Rasa, Guṇa, Śabdālaṃkāra, Kāvya-doṣa and Samasyā-pūraṇa (see *IHQ* xxiv, p. 315-16). The *Kavi-śikṣā* of Jaya-maṅgala and *Kavi-kalpalatā* of Rāghava-caitanya will be noticed below in the chapter on Minor Writers.

All these manuals are directed to the practical object of Kavi-śikṣā or instruction of poets in the composition of their works. They have little direct relation to Poetics proper.

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Commentary. °*Makaranda* by Śubhavijaya Gaṇi, pupil of Hīravijaya Sūri of Tapā-gaccha who lived in the reign of 'Akabbar Śāhi'. Aufrecht i. 101a, iii. 22b ; *KBod* 497. Our author lived in the reign of Salem or Jahangir (*śrīmat-salem-śāhi-rājye*) and wrote the commentary in Saṃvat 1665=1608-9 A.D. at the request of Vijayadeva Sūri (Peterson vi, p. 25f).

Kavi-kalpalatā

Editions. (1) with Comm. by Vecārāma Sārvabhauma, in the *Hindu Commentator*, vols. 1-3, Benares 1867-70. (2) with Comm. by Ramgopal Kaviratna 1900 (our references are to this edition). (3) together with his own comm. by Saraccandra Sastri, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1913. (4) in *Pratna-krama-nandinī*, Benares nos. 1-31. The work is divided into four Stabakas.

Commentaries. (1) *Bāla-bodhikā* by Sūrya Kavi, also known as Sūrya-dāsa or Sūrya Sūri. His genealogy is given thus: Rāma of Pārthapura (under Rāma, king of Devagiri)→ Viṣṇu→ Nīlkaṇṭha→ Nāganātha→ Nṛsiṃha→ Nāganātha →Jñānarāja (author of *Siddhānta-sundara*)→ Sūrya (Weber i, p. 231). He was a versatile author (for his works see

Aufrecht i. 731b, ii. 175b). His *Līlāvatī-ṭīkā* was composed in 1542, while *Sūrya-prakāśa* on Bhāskara's *Bīja-gaṇita* is dated in 1539 A.D. He also wrote an artificial poem called *Rāma-kṛṣṇa-viloma-kāvya* (ed. in Haeberlin's Kāvya-saṃgraha, and Kāvyamālā Gucchaka xi, p. 147f), which praises in alternate verses Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and gives the same text to be read forward or backward respectively. He also wrote a *Nṛsiṃha-campū* in five Ucchvāsas (*IOC* vii, p. 1548 ; see also *ibid*, p. 1478). He belonged to the Bharadvāja-gotra and lived in Pārtha-pura near the confluence of the Godāvarī and Vidarbhā. Aufrecht i. 87a ; iii. 19a.

(2) Comm. by Vecārāma. Probably the same work as printed in the Benares ed. Aufrecht ii. 16b ; the name is given as Vecārāma Sārvabhauma in Jammu MS no. 3482 (*Jammu Cat.* p. 59). See under Minor Writers below.

(3) anonymous °*Ṭīkā* in *SCC* vii. 8.

(4) *Padārtha-dyotanikā* by Mahādeva, son of Paṭṭa-vardhana Mudgala. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, MSS no. 4,99/10004, 4800/8999, pp. 393-94.

CHAPTER X

MINOR WRITERS ON ALAṂKĀRA

(1)

We propose in this chapter to deal with the minor writers on Alaṃkāra, other than the commentators as well as less known authors already mentioned in the preceding chapters, arranging them alphabetically, and giving the names of their works and such details as can be collected about them[1].

1. AKABARA ŚĀHA, *alias* Baḍe Śāheb

Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī

(Ed. V. Raghavan, Hyderabad Arch. Dept. 1951)

The author is described as son of Shaha Raja, and Guru of Sultan Abul Hasan Qutb Shah of Golconda (1672-87 A.D.), who was captured by Aurangzeb in 1687 and who died in 1704 A.D. Akbar was born about 1646 and died between 1672 and 1675 A.D. The Sanskrit work mentioned is said to be a translation of a Telugu original by Akbar Shah himself. Possibly at the instance of Akbar some Telugu scholar wrote the original *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* in Telugu, and a Sanskrit scholar translated it (V. Raghavan, introd. p. 7). The work is based on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī*, and is concerned mainly with the theme of Nāyaka-Nāyikā, topically dealing with Śṛṅgāra-rasa. Total number of verses 312.

2. ACYUTA ŚARMAN or ACYUTARĀYA MOḌAKA

Sāhitya-sāra and its commentary *Sarasāmoda*

(Ed. in litho MS form, Bombay 1860; ed. W. L. Panshikar, NSP, Bombay 1906)

The work is dated in Śaka 1753=1831 A.D. The author describes himself as pupil of Ṣaṣṭi Nārāyaṇa. He was son of

1 Doubtful names to be found in some catalogues, as well as those about which there is no reliable information, have been omitted in this list; and care has been taken to avoid useless or trifling entries.

Nārāyaṇa and Annapūrṇā and lived at Pañcavatī near Nasik. He appears to be identical with Acyutarāya who wrote the *Praṇaya-prakāśa* commentary on Jagannātha's *Bhāminī-vilāsa*; for in it he refers to the *Sāhitya-sāra* as his own (ed. N. S. P. 1894, p. 1), citing the verses i. 14-15 from the latter. In his *Sāhitya-sāra*, again, he refers to the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* at p. 7.

The work consists of twelve chapters called *Ratnas*, the metaphor being that these precious doctrines are churned by the author from the ocean of Alaṃkara-śāstra. The chapters are accordingly named: 1. Dhanvantari-ratna (the general characteristics of *kāvya*), 2. Airāvata-ratna (function of *śabda* and *artha*), 3. Indirā-ratna (the *vyaṅgya* and its occasions), 4. Dakṣiṇāvarta-kambu-ratna (divisions of *dhvani*, including *rasa-dhvani*), 5. Aśvavara-ratna (other inferior divisions of *dhvani*), 6. Viṣa-ratna (*doṣa*), 7. Guṇa-ratna (*guṇa*), 8. Kaustubha-ratna (*arthālaṃkāras*), 9. Kāmadhenu-ratna (*śabdālaṃkāras*), 10. Rambhā-ratna (*nāyikā*), 11. Candra-ratna (*nāyaka*) and 12. Amṛta-ratna (conclusion). Quite a recent writer, who holds some novel views which are neither historically nor theoretically sound. He is identical with Acyuta, author of the *Bhāgīrathī-champū* (written in the 1814 A.D.), who is described by Aufrecht (i. 770b) as son of Nārāyaṇa. This work is divided into seven chapters called *manorathas*. For the author and his other works, some of which are dated, see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 59-60.

3. AJITASENĀCĀRYA or AJITASENA-DEVA YATĪŚVARA

a. *Alaṃkāra-cintāmaṇi*
(Ed. by Padmaraja Pandit in the *Kāvyāmbudhi* 1893-94; see *Ind. Office Printed Bks.*, 1938, p. 72)

b. *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī*
(*ŚgŚ* ii, pp. 83, 231 extract; *Madras Cat.* xxii 12956-57)

The author was a Digambara Jaina priest of Cāmuṇḍarāya, minister of the Gaṅga king Rācamalla, and flourished in

the latter part of the 10th century. He was a teacher of Nāgavarman, a Kanarese poet, who lived under the protection of Rakkasa Gaṅga, younger brother of Rācamalla. His works were written in the Śāntīśvara temple at Baṅgavāḍipura. He wrote the *Alaṃkāra-cintāmaṇi* in five chapters. Ajitasena also wrote *Cintāmaṇi-prakāśikā* on Yakṣavarman's *Cintāmaṇi*, which is itself a commentary on Śākaṭāyana's *Śabdānuśāsana*. See Rice p. 308. The Ajitasena who was the author of the Kālidāsa apocrypha *Śruta-bodha* on Metrics is probably a different person.

There is another Ajitasena of the Senagaṇa who wrote the *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* at the instance of a Jaina Ālūpa prince of the lunar race[1], named Rāya or Kāmirāya, son of Viṭṭhala-devī, for his instruction. It consists of three chapters and 128 stanzas, dealing with (1) *pada-doṣa* (viz. *alakṣaṇa*, *śruti-kaṭu*, *vyāghātārtha*, *anarthaka*, *aprasiddha*, *neyārtha*, *grāmya*, and *asaṃmata*), which ends with a discussion of the Vṛttis, (2) the ten *guṇas* of Vāmana and (3) *arthālaṃkāras* (viz. *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *jāti*, *bhrāntimat*, *hetu*, *saṃśaya*. *prativastūpamā*, *ākṣepa*, *dṛṣṭānta* and *tulyayogitā*). On the two Ajitasenas see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 69 which, however, distinguishes all the known Ajitasenas.

The entry of *Alaṃkāra-cintāmaṇi* as a work of Śāntarāja is some MS Catalogue is a mistake, for Śāntarāja was the scribe and not the author of the work.

4. AṆURATNAMAṆḌANA or RATNAMAṆḌANA GAṆI

a. *Jalpa-kalpalatā*

(Weber 1722, long extract given ii, pp. 278-80)

This Jaina author was a pupil of Ratnaśekhara Sūri[2] of Tapā-gaccha, who died in Saṃvat 1517=1460-61 A.D.[3]

1 Among the Ālūpa princes matriarchy prevailed. Baṅgavāḍi was the capital perhaps of a branch of the Ālūpas.

2 For Ratnaśekhara, see Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156-7: Peterson iv, p. cii f ; *IA* xi, p. 256.

3 Ratnaśekhara Sūri composed his *Kriyā-ratna-samuccaya* (ed. Jaina Yośovijaya Granthamālā Series) in Saṃvat 1466=1410 A.D.

Aṇuratna, therefore, belonged roughly to the middle of the 15th century. The work, in three *stabakas*, gives practical instruction on poetical composition (*kavi-śikṣā*).

b. *Mugdha-medhākara Alaṃkāra-vṛtti*

(Peterson vi, p. xv, extract given at p. 31 ; also *BORI Cat.* xii, p. 222-23)

A manual on poetic figures and kindred topics.

5. ANANTA

Sāhitya-kalpavallī (*Madras Trm. Cat.* no. 5483)

The author was of Tirumala family and Śaṭhamarṣaṇa-gotra and son of Tocamāmbā. He was a protégé of the Orissa king Gajapati Puruṣottama-deva. The work is fully called *Gajapati-Puruṣottamadeva-Sāhityakalpavallī*

6. ANANTĀRYA or ANANTĀCĀRYA (Anantālvan)

Kavi-samaya-kallola (*Madras Cat.* xxii 12808, extract)

This recent South Indian writer of the Śeṣācārya family was son of Śiṅgarācārya. His family was resident at Yādavagiri or Melkote in Mysore. The work cites from Dharmasūri, Narasiṃha's *Nañjarāja-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa*, and *Pratāpa-rudrīya*. He flourished in the court of Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar III. His dates are 1822-62 A.D. He refers to a Kāvya by himself, called *Kṛṣṇarāja-yaśo-ḍiṇḍima*. He was a Viśiṣṭādvaitin and wrote a large number of Vādas which have been published in *Vedanta-vādavalī*, Bangalore 1898 etc. (See *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 143).

7. AMṚTĀNANDA YOGIN

Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha

(ed. Calcutta 1887 with Engl. trans. ; ed. also in the Adyar Library Series, and by the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. MS in *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12794, extract)

The work consists of five chapters dealing with (1) *varṇa-gaṇa*, (2) *śabdārtha*, (3) *rasa-bhāva*, (4) *nāyaka-bheda*, and (5)

alaṃkāra. The author says that he wrote this work at the request of Manvasamudra, son of Bhakti-bhūmipati, who was a devotee of Śiva. It appears from the introductory verse that the author also intended to deal with *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *daśa-rūpaka*. He is not identical with the Tāntrika Amṛtānandanātha (pupil of Puṇyānanda) who is said to have corrected (Weber p. 361) the *Tantra-sāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda ; but in the introd. to his *Yoginī-hṛdaya-dīpikā* (ed. Sarasvati Bhavan Text, no. 7) it is said that this Amṛtānanda could not have done so because Kṛṣṇānanda was much later in date.

8. ARUṆAGIRI KAVI

Godavarma yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(Printed in *Journal of Travancore Univ. MS Library*, vol. i)

The work is on Arthālaṃkāras only. The author is described as belonging to the Kauṇḍinya-gotra, son of Śeṣādri and pupil of Veṅkaṭādri. He was patronised by Godavarma, king of Vadakkumkūr. *Circa* 1550-1650 A.D.

9. ALLARĀJA or MALLARĀJA

Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā

(Ed. R. N. Dandekar, Bharatiya Vidya Series 8. Bombay 1945 ; the work called is *Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā*)

A work called *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā* is cited by Bhānudatta in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (=Allarāja v. 57), and by Ratnakaṇṭha on Mammaṭa (Peterson ii, p. 17). See above p. 242, fn 4. The work is called *Rasa-ratna-pradīpa* by Allarāja in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533. The author was son of Hammīra, the Cauhan king of Ranathambor who conquered Koṅkaṇa and whose regnal period was 1283-1301 A.D.[1] The work is a manual of six chapters (called Paricchedas) which deals in prose and verse exclusively with the topic of Rasa and Bhāva.

1 The question of Allarāja's date is discussed by the editor of the text. In honour of this Hammīra Nayacandra Sūri wrote his *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* in 1486 (ed. N. J. Kirtane, Bombay 1879).

It borrows *verbatim* extensively from Bharata and the *Daśa-rūpaka*. There is hardly any originality either in subject-matter or treatment.

10. ĀŚĀDHARA

Kovidānanda (Aufrecht ii. 25a)

Triveṇikā (ed. Batuknath Sarma and J. S. Hoshing, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1925).

We have already mentioned above (p. 228) Āśādhara as the author of the *Alaṃkāra-dīpikā* commentary on *Kuvalayānanda*. He was son of Rāmajī and disciple of Dharaṇīdhara, and should be distinguished from the much earlier Jaina Āśādhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa and commentator on Rudraṭa (see p. 93). The *Kovidānanda*, with its commentary called *Kādambinī*, is concerned (as the author himself states) with Śabda-vyāpāra-nirṇaya. His (*Śabda-*) *Triveṇikā* 'having three streams' also deals with the same theme of the three Vṛttis, namely, Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā and refers frequently to his *Kovidānanda*. As Āśādhara comments on Appayya's work and quotes Bhaṭṭojī's *Siddhānta-kaumudī* he must be later than the first half of the 17th century. A MS of his *Alaṃkāra-dīpikā* is dated in Śaka 1775 (=1850 A.D.), while a MS of his *Kovidānanda* appears to have been copied in Śaka 1783 (=1861 A.D.)[1] In all probability Āśādhara flourished in the middle and latter half of the 18th century.

11. INDRAJIT

Rasika-priyā in 16 Pravāhas (Peterson vi, no. 379)

A MS of this work in *BORI MS Cat.* xii, p. 293 is dated Saṃvat 1729 (=1672-73 A.D.). In two of the BORI MSS the author is called Mahārāja-kumāra in the colophon. This is *not* a Sanskrit but an old Hindi work. The author also wrote a *Bāla-bodha* commentary on the *Vairāgya-śataka*

1 R. G. Bhandarkar, *List of Skt. MSS*, pt. i, Bombay 1893, p. 68.

(Aufrecht iii. 13b). Bühler mentions (*ZDMG*, xliii. p. 543) a work on Alaṃkāra called *Rāmacandra-candrikā* by Indrajila (*sic*), the date of which is given as 1712 A.D.

12. KACCHAPEŚVARA DĪKṢITA

Rāmacandra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12950, extract)

The author was son of Vāsudeva and grandson of Kālahastīśvara who was a native of Brahmadeśa, a village in the North Arcot district. He wrote also a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*. His grandfather had two other sons, named Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, his father being the second son. The work consists of three chapters dealing with the Rasas, viz. (1) *Śṛṅgāra*, (2) the other 8 *Rasas*, (3) *Bhāva-nirūpaṇa*. The illustrations are in praise of the valour of Bommarāja (probably of the Karvetnagar zamindary in North Arcot).

13. KANDĀLAYĀRYA

Alaṃkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa

(Hultzsch i no, 371, extract at p. 75 ; *Madras Trm A* 168)

The author was son of Rāmānujārya of the Kauśika-gotra and grandson of Keśavārya of the Rāyalūri family. He tells us that he lived in the court of Veṅkaṭa-bhūpati, son of Soma-bhūpati (and Giryambā), who was son of Nallareḍḍi of Muṣṭipallī (also called Pākanāḍu) family and of Miṭilla-gotra. He resided in Naḍigaḍḍa country which lies between the Tungabhadrā and Kṛṣṇā. But see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 297a. It seems that he probably lived at the court of either Veṅkaṭa I or II of the third Vijayanagar dynasty[1], and was thus a contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita. The work is in ten Ullāsas as follow: (i) Upodghāta (ii) Kāvya-lakṣaṇa (iii) Dhvani-prakaraṇa (iv) Rasa-prakaraṇa (v) Doṣa-praka-

1 Hultzsch *ibid*, p. viii. But see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 297a.

raṇa (vi) Guṇa-prakaraṇa (vii-ix) Kāvyaviśeṣa-prakaraṇa (x) Nāyaka-prakaraṇa.

14. KALYĀṆA-SUBRAHMAṆYA SŪRI

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha with commentary

(*ŚgŚ* ii, pp. 80, 220 extract ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12790)

The author was son of Subrahmaṇya and grandson of Gopāla of the Perūru or Perur family. The work invokes and sings the praise throughout of Padmanābha, the god of the temple of Anantaśayana (Travancore), and of the Vañjipāla (Bāla-) Rāma Varma Kulaśekhara, king of Travancore (1758-98). It deals with Arthālaṃkāras only, gives the characteristics of those figures that are dealt with in the *Candrāloka*, and illustrates them with examples composed by the author himself in praise of his patron and his deity.[1]

15. KĀŚĪ or KASHĪKARA LAKSMAṆA KAVI

Alaṃkāra-grantha (Burnell 54a).

This work was probably written at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century, as the examples are all in praise of the Tanjore prince Śāhajī (1684-1711 A.D.). It is also called *Śāharājīya*. See *Tanjore Descriptive Cat.* ix, nos. 5304-05. Also see V. Raghavan's ed. of *Sāhendra-vilāsa*, Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series (p. 23).

16. KĀŚĪŚVARA MIŚRA

Rasa-mīmāṃsā

This work is mentioned and cited by Viśveśvara Kavicandra (*q.v.*) in his *Camatkāra-candrikā*, ch. v: *tathā coktam*

1 On this author see K. Kunjunni Raja, *Contribution of Kerala to Skt. Lit.* (Madras 1958), p. 175. Bāla Rāma Varman appears also to be eulogised in the illustrative verses of *Bālarāma-varma-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Sadāśiva Dīkṣita which includes (as some Yaśobhuṣaṇa works do) a play in five Acts, called *Vasu-lakṣmī-kalyāṇa*, of which the king is the hero. See *Cat. Trivandrum Palace Lib.* vi, p. 2354.

samad-ācāryaiḥ kāśīśvara-miśraiḥ rasa-mīmāṃsāyām. As Viśveśvara's teacher his date would be about 1300 A.D. See V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35), p. 139-40.

17. KUMĀRAGIRI

Vasanta-rājīya Nāṭya-śāstra

The author is quoted by Kāṭayavema as his patron[1]. The work is cited by Kumārasvāmin as *vasanta-rājīya* p. 178, by Mallinātha on *Śiśu* ii. 8 and by Sarvānanda on *Amara-kośa*[2]. These citations make it clear that this metrical work on Dramaturgy can not be later than the 14th century. This *Nāṭya-śāstra*, probably an Āndhra work, is also mentioned in a commentary on the Southern recension of the *Śakuntalā* by Kāṭayavema who is described as a minister of king Vasanta-rāja Kumāragiri. This commentary proposes to follow the exposition of Vasantarāja's *Nāṭya-śāstra* (*IOC* vii, p. 157-76). The author's genealogy is given in a MS of the work[3], which states that Vasantarāja Kumāragiri was son of Anapota and grandson of Vema Reḍḍi. Kāṭayavema was son of Kāṭaya-bhūpati by his wife Woḍḍāmbā, who was the daughter of Vema Reḍḍi. The Reḍḍi king Kumāragiri ruled in the Telugu country in the second half of the 14th century[4]. As his work is lost, we know nothing about its scope and extent, but later citations show that it dealt chiefly with Dramaturgy and incidentally with Rasa.

18. KUMBHA or KUMBHAKARṆA, Śrīrājādhirāja

Rasa-ratna-kośa (Aufrecht i. 495b)

A MS of this work in Devanāgarī characters in the Paris

1 Burnell 173a. 2 *ŚgS* ii, p. 30.

3 In *Madras Trm* I A 295 (6), but the stanzas are missing in Burnell and *IOC* MSS.

4 For a discussion of genealogy and time of this Reḍḍi king (2nd half of the 14th century) see Introd, to Vānivilasa Press ed. (1906) of *Pārvatī-pariṇaya*; N. Venkata Rao, Vasantarājīya in *Pathak Comm. Vol.*, Poona 1934, pp. 401f.

Biblioth. Nationale (no. 243) is described by Regnaud p. 379. It is a treatise on Rasa and kindred topics in eleven chapters[1], dealing with (1) 1-4 *rasas*, (2) 5-6 *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, (3) 7 *abhinaya*, (4) 8-9 *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, (5) 10-11 *rasa* and *bhāva*. The treatment and subject-matter correspond to those of the 3rd chapter of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* and Bhānudatta's two works on Rasa. The author is probably king Kumbha of Mewad (1428-1459 A.D.) who wrote, besides some treatises on Saṃgīta, a commentary entitled *Rasika-priyā* (ed. NSP. 1917) on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, and flourished in the first half of the 15th century.

19. KURAVIRĀMA

Daśarūpaka-paddhati

See above pp. 127, 229 for information about this author.

20. KṚṢṆA

Sāhitya-taraṅgiṇī (Aufrecht ii 171a)

21. KṚṢṆA DĪKṢITA or KṚṢṆA YAJVAN

Raghunātha-bhūpālīya

(Aufrecht i. 446a ; *Madras Trm C* 656d ; Adyar II, p. 336)

The work was written in honour of the author's patron, whose name it bears in its title, after the manner of the *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānatha who is referred to as Vidyāpati in the introductory part. Raghunātha, son of Acyuta, distinguished himself as one of the Nāyaka rulers of Tanjore (17th century A.D.) and patron of literature. His mistress Rudrāmbā wrote the semi-historical poem, *Raghunāthābhyudaya*,[2] to celebrate in twelve cantos the greatness of her

1 The work appears from citations in his *Rasika-priyā* to be a part of the author's voluminous *Saṃgīta-rāja* ; see V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xiv, 1933, pp. 258-62. Kumbha also wrote a comm. on the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva.

2 Ed. T. R. Chintamani, Madras Univ. 1934.

lover. Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita's work consists of eight Vilāsas dealing with (i) Nāyaka-guṇa (ii) Kāvya-svarūpa (iii) Saṃlakṣya-krama-vyaṅgya (iv) Asaṃlakṣya-krama-vyaṅgya (v) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya (vi) Śabdālaṃkāra (vii) Arthālaṃkāra and (viii) Guṇa. Kṛṣṇa Yajvan also appears to have written an *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī*. A commentary called *Sāhitya-sāmrājya* by Sumatīndra Yati, pupil of Sudhīndra-pūjyapāda, is mentioned in Rice 288.—Another work of this type which praises Shahaji of Tanjore (1648-1710) is *Śāharājīya* of Lakṣmaṇa Kavi ; see above p. 270, no. 15.

22. KṚṢṆA BHAṬṬA or JAYAKṚṢṆA MAUNIN

Vṛtti-dīpikā (Aufrecht i. 598a)

The author was a grammarian, and the work probably dealt with the grammatico-rhetorical question of the Vṛttis of words. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 198a. He is described as son of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Govardhana Bhaṭṭa.

23. KṚṢṆA ŚARMAN or KṚṢṆĀVADHŪTA

a. *Mandāra-maranda-campū*
(ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press Bombay 1895, with *Mādhurya-rañjanī* commentary)
b. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*
c. *Sārasvatālaṃkāra*, Sūtra and Bhāṣya

The first-named work is a so-called Campū dealing in reality with Prosody, Dramaturgy and Poetics, as well as practical Kavi-śikṣā. The work consists of eleven chapters called *bindus*, dealing with (1) chandas (2) nāyaka-varṇana (3) śleṣa (4) yamaka and citra (5) the different bandhas (6) enigmatology (7) dramaturgy (8) nāyaka-lakṣaṇa (9) bhāva and rasa (10) alaṃkāra with dhvani-nirūpaṇa etc. and (11) doṣa, which however includes sections on śabdārtha, the three vṛttis etc., pāka, kāvya-bheda, and a section of practical hints for

descriptive poetry. The work appears to be ill-arranged and ill-digested, having no fixed theory but forming a cyclopaedic compilation from various sources, meant to serve as a complete handbook for the poet. The author, who is described as an inhabitant of Guhapura and a pupil of Vāsudeva Yogīśvara, gives us no clue to his date ; but his work belongs to quite recent times. He copies, for instance, many definitions and illustrations from Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, and even appropriates the whole section on Pāka from Vidyānātha. Some of the new poetic figures, which appear to be first adduced and illustrated by Appayya, find a place in this comprehensive compilation. For the author and his work see *Karnatak Univ. Journal* (Humanities), 1957, pp. 127f. His date is given as 1835-1909 A.D. He also wrote a commentary *Rasa-prakāśa* on Mammaṭa (see p. 173).

24. KṚṢṆA SUDHĪ

Kāvya-kalānidhi

The author was son of Śivarāma and grandson of Upadeṣṭṛ-paṇḍita Nārāyaṇa. He was a native of Uttaramerūr in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam on the banks of the Ceyyār near Kāñcī. He wrote the *Kavya-kalānidhi* in 1845 A.D. under the patronage of Ravivarman, rājā of Kolaṭṭanāḍ. The work is in ten sections in which the illustrations are all in praise of the poet's patron.[1]

25. KṚṢṆA SŪRI

Alaṃkāra-mīmāṃsā (*Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 2700)

The author was son of Gopālācārya, who was son of Kṛṣṇārya of the Śāntalūri family. There is one Kṛṣṇa Sūri who wrote a commentary called *Ratna-śobhākara* on the *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī* of Ramasudhī, son of Nṛsiṃha (ed. in Telugu script, Vizagapatam 1897-98).

1 See K. Kunjunni Rāja, *Contribution of Kerala to Skt. Lit.* pp. 62, 244.

26. KEŚAVA BHAṬṬA

Rasika-saṃjīvanī

(Aufrecht i. 127b, 497b ; *Br. Mus.* no. 424, extract)

The work, dealing with Rasa is in three *vilāsas.* The author, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa, is claimed as a Vaiṣṇava disciple of Viṭṭhaleśvara, who is apparently the son of the reformer Vallabhācārya. Hence our author probably belongs to the second half of the 16th century. He is not the same as Keśava Bhaṭṭa Kāśmīrī, son of Śrīmaṅgala and a veteran champion of the Nimbārka school[1]. The first Vilāsa (11 *śl.* only) of the work is mainly introductory ; the second deals with *nāyikās,* and the third with *māna, praṇaya, rāga, śṛṅgāra* etc.

27. KOLLŪRI RĀJAŚEKHARA

Alaṃkāra-makaranda (*Madras Trm* 2285)

The author belonged to a family of Drāviḍas of Perūru in Andhra. The work quotes *Catmatkāra-candrikā* (see below under Viśveśvara Kavicandra) and praises a chief called Rām-eśvara of Aṇipiṇḍivaṃśa, son of Viśveśvara and Kāmakṣī, and described as Ammaṇṇa Mahī-mahendra of Mukteśvara (near Godāvarī). This Rājaśekhara is said to have been also patronised by Peshwa Madhava Rao (1760-72 A.D.).

28. GAṄGĀDHARA MIŚRA

Catura-cīntāmaṇi

(H. P. Sāstri, *Cat. ASB MSS,* vi, 4934/8162, p.,485-86)

This is a work on the nine Rasas, but chiefly on Śṛṅgāra Rasa, in eighteen Prakāsas. The author is described as son of Miśra Saṃdoha.

1 See S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement,* 1942, p. 55 fn.

29. GAṄGĀNANDA MAITHILA

Karṇa-bhūṣaṇa

(ed. Bhavadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1902)

Kāvya-ḍākinī

(ed. P. Jagannath Hoshing, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1924)

The first is a work on the Rasas in five chapters, dealing with (1) vibhāvas (2) anubhāvas (3) vyabhicāri-bhāvas (4) sthāyi-bhāvas and (5) rasa. It was written, as the author himself says, at the command of king Śrīkarṇa of Bikaner (*bikānerī-purī*), who appears to be the same as Lūṇakarṇajī who ruled at Bikaner from 1505 to 1526 A.D. The *Kāvya-ḍākinī* deals in five chapters (called *Dṛṣṭis*) with Doṣas.

30. GAṄGĀRĀMA JAḌI or JAḌIN

Rasa-mīmāṃsā

(ed. with his own *Chāyā*, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1885)

It is a small work of 114 verses on the poetic sentiments. For details about the author and his commentary on Bhānudatta's work, see above p. 250. He belongs to the second quarter of the 18th century.

31. GADĀDHARA BHAṬṬA

Rasika-jīvana (Aufrecht i. 497b, ii. 116b).

This work on Rasa, which bears the character of an anthology rather than a work on Poetics, is in ten *prabandhas* and contains 1562 verses comprising selection from no less than 122 authors. The author is the son of Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa and Umā, and grandson of Dāmodara. Regnaud (p. 379) gives an account of the Paris Biblioth. Nationale MS of this work. The work quotes Jagannātha's *Rasa-*

gaṅgādhara, and hence it must be later than the middle of the 17th century.[1]

32. GIRIDHARA

Kalyāṇa-kallola

(H. P Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, 4932/ 8312, p. 482)

This is a work on the nine Rasas (including Śānta) composed under the patronage of Kalyāṇa Dāsa, son of Toḍara Malla.

33. GOKULANĀTHA MAITHILA

Rasa-mahārṇava

The author is the celebrated Maithili Smārta and Naiyāyika Gokulanātha, son of Pītāmbara and Umādevī of Phaṇadaha family in Maṅgraunī, who lived and wrote in Benares at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. The work is referred to by himself in his *Pada-vākya-ratnākara*.[2] He is probably the same as wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa, see above p. 173. His drama *Amṛtodaya* (written about 1693 A.D.) has been published in Kāvyamālā 59, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897[3].

34. GAURANĀRYA

Lakṣaṇa-dīpikā

Prabandha-dīpikā or *Padārtha-dīpikā* (*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12951, extract)

The first work, which breaks off with the sixth *prakāśa*, deals with (1) *kāvya-svarūpa* (2) *paribhāṣā* (3) *kāvya-lakṣaṇa-*

1 P. K. Gode in *ABORI* xii, pp. 296-99 and Hara Dutt Sarma in *Jha Comm. Volume* pp. 359-65. For list of authors quoted see *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 247, at p. 288-90.

2 *ABod* 246a.

3 See *HPS* i p. 17f.

bheda (4) *kalikotkalikādi* (5) *udāharṇa-bheda* and (6) *nāyikā*. The other work *Padārtha-dīpikā* covers common ground. The author is described as son of Āyamaprabhu and brother of Mitarāja, who was minister of Śiṅgaya Mādhava of Recarla family. The work cites *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* (of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla?). Another work in four *paricchedas*, also called *Lakṣaṇa-dīpikā* (consisting of Kārikā and Vṛtti), is attributed in the same Catalogue (no. 12952, extract) to Gauranārya ; but the author is here described as son of Ayyalu-mantrin, brother of *amātya* Potama. They may be identical. The latter work cites the *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha*, *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*, *Camatkāra-candrikā*, *Sāhitya-candrodaya* and *Sāhitya-ratnākara* (of Dharma Sūri?). The *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāsa*, of which two MSS (without the name of the author) are noticed in *Madras Cat.* xii 12802-03, is a treatise (said to be based on some work of Piṅgala's) on the characteristics of a poet's personal appearance and qualities, on the effect of the initial words of a poem, on the auspicious day for beginning a composition and so forth.

35. GHĀSI or GHĀSĪ RĀMA PAṆḌITA

a. *Rasa-candra*

(*IOC* iii, 1210/295, pp. 351-53 ; extract)

b. *Rasa-kaumudī*

(*Madras Cat.* xii 12921, extract ; *BORI MSS Cat.* xxii, no. 197, p. 223)

The first work was composed in 1696 A.D. The second work describes the nine Rasas. The anonymous *Rasa-kaumudī* in Peterson v. 414 refers apparently to this work.[1] The *Rasa-candra* is in four chapters, dealing with: 1. *nāyikā-gaṇa-bheda* (198 *śl.*), 2. *nāyaka-saṃgha* (85 *śl.*), 3. *anubhāvādi gaṇa*

1 P. K. Gode (*Cal. Orient. Journal* iii, pp. 35-37) gives the latter half of the 18th century A.D. as the probable date of this anonymous work.

(150 *śl.*), 4. *rasa-daśaka* (162 *śl.*). Is this Ghāsīrāma of Gautama-vaṃśa identical with Ghāsīrāma Bhaṭṭa, father Śrīnātha who wrote the medical work *Jagat-prakāśa* (Stein pp. 193, 348)? He, however, appears to be the same as wrote the *Padya-muktāvalī* (erotic verses).

36. CAṆḌĪDĀSA

Dhvani-siddhānta-grantha

The work is referred to by himself in his commentary on Mammaṭa. See above p. 160.

37. CANDRACŪḌA

Prastāva-cintāmaṇi (Ulwar 1064, extract 223; Weber 826)

It is a work in five Ucchvāsas on the art of writing poetic descriptions. The author is described as son of Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa. For citations in this work, see Weber *loc. cit.* It cites Candraśekara-campū-prabandha which, Regnaud thinks, is a campū by Candraśekhara, father of Viśvanātha (*q. v.*).

38. CIRAÑJĪVA or RĀMADEVA (VĀMADEVA) CIRAÑJĪVA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

a. *Kāvya-vilāsa*

(Ed. Batuk Nath Sarma and Jagannath Sastri Hoshing, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1925. See *IOC*, iii no. 1191, pp. 343-44 for a detailed summary of contents.

b. *Śṛṅgāra-taṭinī* (Aufrecht i. 660b).

The author was son of Rāghavendra (described as *ācārya-śatāvadhāna*) and grandson of Kāśīnātha of Rādhāpura in Gauḍa country. He is the author of the *Vidvanmoda-taraṅgiṇī* (a campū)[1] and also of *Vṛtta-ratnāvalī*, a work on

1 Ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912; also ed. Satyavrata Samasrami in the *Hindu Commentator* iv, nos. 1-4, 1871; and ed. Kalikrishna Deb, Serampore Press 1832 (text and trs.), 2nd ed. 1834. The author's genealogy as above is given by himself in this work.

prosody. The India Office MS, as well as the printed text, of the *Kāvya-vilāsa* consists of two chapters (called Bhaṅgī), dealing with Rasa and Alaṃkāra respectively. We are told that the definitions in this work are taken from old standard writers, while the illustrative stanzas are the author's own. The section on *śabdālaṃkāra* from this work has been printed and inadvertantly included in the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, published by N. S. P. (ed. Vāsudeva L. Panshikar Bombay, 1909) with Āśādhara's commentary[1]. See above p. 223 fn 3. The illustrative verses of his *Vṛtta-ratnāvalī*[2] panegyrise Yaśovanta Siṃha, Nayeb-dewan of Dacca under Sujau-d-daulah of Bengal, about Śaka 1653=1731 A.D. His *Kāvya-vilāsa* was composed in 1703 A.D. He belongs, therefore, to the last quarter of the 17th and first half of the 18th century. Cirañjīva also wrote *Mādhava-campū* (ed. Satyavrata Samasrami, in the *Hindu Commentator* iv, no. 4-7, Calcutta 1871), as well as *Kalpa-latā* and *Śiva-stotra* mentioned in his *Kāvya-vilāsa.*

39. JAYAMAṄGALA

Kavi-śikṣā (Peterson i, no. 120, extract)

This work is apparently cited by Ratnakaṇṭha on *Stuti-kusumāñjali* i. 1. The author was a Jaina who wrote at the time of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and was thus a contemporary of Hemacandra[3].

40. JINAVALLABHA SŪRI

Praśnottara (*Br. Mus. MS* no. 426, extract)

This is a collection of riddles and verbal puzzles. On the author (about 1110 A.D.), see Klatt p. 36 and Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 48, where other works of his are mentioned. It is accompanied by an *avacūri* by Kamalamandira.

1 See pp. 97-100 of this edition.

2 *HPS* iii, no. 280.

3 Peterson, *Detailed Report* 1883, p. 68

41, JĪVANĀTHA

Alaṃkāra-śekhara (Oudh iii. 12)

42. TIRUMALA or TRIMALLA BHAṬṬA

Alaṃkāra-mañjarī (extract in *ALeip* 851)

This South Indian author was son of Vallabhabhaṭṭa, and his name is also given as Trimmala or Tirmala, and sometimes incorrectly as Nirmala. The work, written in Benares in 43 verses, deals only with *arthālaṃkāras*[1]. The *Arthālaṃkāra-mañjarī* entered under this author's name in Bühler's *Catalogue* (1871-73) is probably this work[2]. The author appears to be identical with Trimalla Kavi, son of Vallabha and grandson of Śiṅghaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who wrote some works on medicine (see *ALeip* 1182-85). His date[3] is fixed between 1383-1499 A D.

43. TRILOCANĀDITYA

Nāṭya-locana (Aufrecht i. 284b, iii. 61a)

This work (without the author's name) is extensively cited, e.g. by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* ed. NSP, 1886, p. 7, by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī*, by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* i. 1, by Dinakara and Cāritravardhana on *Raghu.* As Dinakara's date is 1385 A D.[4], this work cannot be placed later than the middle or third quarter of the 14th century. A commentary called, °*Locana-vyākhyāñjana*, by the author himself, is mentioned in Oppert 2695.

44. TRYAMBAKA

Nāṭaka-dīpa (Aufrecht i. 284b)

Three commentaries on the work are entered by Aufrecht

1 The list of 38 figures dealt with is given at the outset; the passage in quoted in *ALeip*, MS no. 851, p. 273.

2 *New Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 295 enters them separately. Most of the MSS contain Arthālaṃkāra only.

3 See *Cat. R.A.S* (Bombay Branch) vol. i, no. 126,p. 42.

4 Nandargikar's ed. of *Raghu*, 1897, Pref. p. 17.

loc. cit. One of the Deccan College MSS of the work contains a Prakrit commentary[1].

45. DĀMODARA BHAṬṬA HARṢE

Alaṃkāra-krama-mālā (Aufrecht i. 32a)

46. DĪNA KṚṢṆADĀSA

Rasa-kallola

The work was written about 1480 A.D. when Gajapati Puruṣottama was reigning[2].

47. DEVANĀTHA

Rasika-prakāśa (Aufrecht i. 497b)

The author is probably the same as Devanātha Tarkapañcānana who wrote a commentary named *Kāvya-kaumudī*, on Mammaṭa (see above p. 174). A Devanātha is cited by Bharatamallika (18th century) on Bhaṭṭi x. 73.

48. DEVAŚAṂKARA, surnamed Purohita

Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā

(Ed, S. L. Katre, Scindia Orient. Ser. Ujjain 1940. See Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91 p. lxiiif, extract)

The author, a Gujarat Brahman, was son of Nāhanābhāi and a native of Rāner (Rānder near Surat), and lived at Uraḥpattana (probably Olpāḍ in the same district). The work deals with poetic figures alone, and the illustrations sing the glory of the Peshwas Mādhava Rāo I of Poona and Nārāyaṇa Rāo. and their uncle Raghunātha Rāo who flourished between 1761 and 1772 A.D. The author, there-

1 *Deccan Coll. Catalogue* p. 417 no. 38.—The comm. by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paṇḍita on *Nāṭaka-dīpa* is not a comm. on this work, but (as Aufrecht points out, i. 791a) a comm. on the Nāṭaka-dīpa in the *Pañcadaśī*. Correct this error in Schuyler's *Bibliography* p. 18 and in Harichand Sastri, p. 35, no. 361,

2 See *IA* i, p. 215.

fore, belonged to the third and fourth quarters of the 18th century.[1] The work deals almost exclusively with poetic figures, which are enumerated as 115 and classified into Arthālaṃkāras (102), Pramāṇālaṃkāras (103-6), Dhvanyālaṃkāras (107-13) and Miśrālaṃkāras (114-15). The Kārikās, as well as prose explanations, are generally based on the corresponding passages of Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*. In spite of its editor's eulogy, the work does not seem to be a striking or original contribution to the subject. Devaśaṃkara also wrote a commentary on the *Amaru-śataka* (Mitra x, pp. 81-82).

49. DHARMADĀSA SŪRI

Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana, with *vṛtti*

> (Ed. Haeberlin in Kāvyasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1847, p. 269f. Also in *Kāvya-kalāpa* (pub. Haridas Hirachand) Bombay 1865 Printed many times in India; but ed. N.S.P., Bombay 1914, is useful. MSS: Aufrecht i. 572b, ii. 135b, 225a, iii. 121a).

The work of Dharmadāsa is in four *paricchedas*, dealing with enigmatology and Citra-kāvya, and at the same time describes the feeling of separation from a lover. The concluding verse in the Bombay edition of the text (wanting in Br. Mus. MS, Bendall no. 427), as well as the first verse (which invokes Śauddhodani) and the colophon to Jinaprabha's commentary, makes the author a Buddhist ascetic. The known dates of Jinaprabha put the limit of Dharmadāsa's date earlier than the last quarter of the 13th century. This work is also cited by name by Kumārasvāmin (p. 122=iv. 1), by Rāyamukuṭa on Amara[2], and quoted in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara. These citations themselves would put the date of our author earlier than the 14th century.

Commentaries on this work are numerous:

(1) By Jinaprabha Sūri, pupil of Jinasiṃha Sūri (Weber

1 See *ABORI* xv, pp. 92-96 and xxi p. 152-54.

2 Composed 1431 A.D. ; see Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 63.

1728). For this Jaina writer, whose known dates are 1293 and 1309 A. D. see Peterson iv, p. xxxvii and Klatt's Onomasticon. His Guru Jinasiṃha founded the Laghu-kharatara-gaccha in 1275 A.D. The date of our commentator, therefore, will be the last quarter of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. (2) Commentary by Ātmārāma. Aufrecht i, 573a. The full name of this writer appears to be Svātmārāma Yogīndra. (3) *Vidvan-manoramā* by Tārācandra Kāyastha. Aufrecht i. 573a, ii. 135b, iii. 121a. For his other works, see *ibid* i. 229a. (4) *Śravaṇa-bhūṣaṇa* by Narahari Bhaṭṭa, Aufrecht i. 573a. (5) *Subodhinī* by Trilocana. Aufrecht ii. 135b (extract in Stein p. 274). (6) Commentary by Śivacandra. Aufrecht iii 121a. Its date is 1613 A.D.[1] (7) °*Ṭīkā* by Durgādāsa, son of Vāsudeva and pupil of Bhaṭṭa Devacandra. Aufrecht ii. 135b, iii. 121a ; extract in Peterson iv p. 36.

50. DHARMA SUDHĪ or DHARMA SŪRI

Sāhitya-ratnākara

(ed. Tiruvenkatacharya with commentary, Madras 1871 ; ed. Nellore 1885. MSS: Aufrecht i. 716a, ii. 171a, iii. 148a ; *BORI MSS Cat.* xxii, no. 301, pp. 366-70 (extract) ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12970-75 ; *HPS* ii, no. 246, extract).

The author's name is given variously as Dharma-siṃha or Dharma-paṇḍita. Son of Parvatanātha and Allamāmba, he belonged to a Benares family distinguished for the high proficiency of its members in philosophical studies, and his genealogy is thus given (Hultzsch i. p. 70): Tripurāri→Dharma→Parvatanātha or Parvateśa→Dharma Sūri. He was also the author of two plays, called *Naraka-dhvaṃsa* or *Narakāsuravijyaya*[1] (a *vyāyoga*) and *Kaṃsa-vadha* (a *nāṭaka*), and of

1 P. K. Gode in *Journal of the Univ. Bombay*, 1954, pp. 126-29.

1 Ed. Madras 1885 (in Telugu characters) ; Hultzch 323, Aufrecht i. 277a.

some Kāvyas and Stotras. The author is cited by Anantārya (*q. v.*) in his *Kavi-samaya-kallola.* A commentary on this *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, called °*Naukā*, by Veṅkaṭa Sūri is mentioned in *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12974-75 (ed. Madhusudan Mishra, Bomra 1901). Veṅkaṭa Sūri was son of Lakṣmaṇa Sūri and Suramāmbā, and grandson of Brahmāntara-vāṇi and disciple of Veṅkaṭācārya. There is another commentary called *Mandara* by Mallāḍi Lakṣaṇa-sūri (ed. Madras 1891 in Telugu characters). The *Sāhitya-ratnākara* (*c.* 1425 A.D.) is in ten *taraṅgas*, dealing with the conventional topics of Poetics as follow: (i) Granthārambha (ii) Vācaka-śabdārtha-vṛtti (iii) Lakṣaṇā-śabdārtha-vṛtti (v) Guṇa (vi) Śabdālaṃkāra (vii) Arthālaṃkāra (viii) Doṣa (ix) Dhvani-bheda (x) Rasa. Most of the illustrative verses are in praise of Rāma as a deity (*śrīmat-raghu-tilaka-yaśoghanasāra-surabhita*). Dharma Sūri must have been later than Vidyānātha; for in one of his verses he anonymously ridicules Vidyānātha's method of praising his patron (*alaṃkriyāḥ pūrvataraiḥ praṇītāḥ / prayogitāḥ kāścana nāyakena / kaiścit tu kukṣimbharibhir nibaddhāḥ / kṣodīyasā kāścana nāyakeṇa*). His date is roughly the first half of the 15th century.[1]

51. NARASIṂHA

Guṇa-ratnākara (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5207, p. 4028)

This work deals with a hundred poetic figures. It was written under Serfoji of Tanjore (1684-1710 A.D.)

52. NARASIṂHA or NṚSIṂHA KAVI

Nañjarāja-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(Ed. E. Krishnamacharya, Gaekwad Orient. Ser. Baroda 1930)

The author, son of Śivarāma-sudhī-maṇi and disciple of an ascetic Yogānanda, belonged to the Sanagara class of Brah-

1 See E.M.V. Raghavacharya in *Proc. A-I.O.C* ix, Trivandrum 1940, pp. 503-17 ; also *NIA* ii, 1939, pp. 428-441 for Dharma Sūri's date and works. The date of the work is given as c. 1425 A.D.

mans, and was patronised by Nañjarāja, whose name is borne by the title of his work and whose glory it sings in the illustrative verses. Nañjarāja was Sarvādhikaraṇa (revenue minister) of Chikka Krishnaraja of Mysore from 1739 to 1759 A.D., after which came Nañjarāja's downfall terminating with his miserable death in Hyder Ali's imprisonment in 1773. Narasiṃha's work must have been written during the twenty years of his patron's flourishing period. The work is divided into seven chapters called Vilāsas; and it deals with all topics of Poetics including Dramaturgy. The seven Ullāsas deal with (1) Nāyaka (2) Kāvya-svarūpa (3) Dhvani (4-5) Doṣa-Guṇa (6) Nāṭya, including Candrakalā-kalyaṇa (a short typical drama) (7) Alaṃkāra. It is obviously modelled on the *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha and freely appropriates much of its subject-matter *verbatim*. He inserts, after Vidyānātha, a model five-act drama called *Candrakalā-kalyāṇa* to illustrate his treatment of Dramaturgy in ch. vi. The author had the grandiose title Abhinava-Kālidāsa; and he describes himself as the friend of Abhinava Bhavabhūti (*alias* Ālūra Tirumala-kavi).

53. NARASIṂHĀCĀRYA or VEṄKAṬA NṚSIṂHA KAVI

Alaṃkārendu-śekhara

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12978, extract; contains the first *prakaraṇa* only)

This South Indian author was son of Dāsamācārya of Śrīśaila family and wrote a commentary on a work on music, called *Śānta-vilāsa*, composed by Subrahmaṇya Sudhī (*alias* Hariśāba Kavīndra) son of Harirāya and grandson of Kṛṣṇarāya of Cariṣṇusāla village. He refers to a *Gīta-mañjarī* by this Hariśāba Kavīndra, and to a Campū of his own called *Jānakī-pariṇaya*, and quotes *Sāhitya-ratnākara* of Dharma Sūri. The manual on Alaṃkāra mentioned above deals in five Prakaraṇas with (1) *nāyaka lakṣaṇa* (2) *kāvya svarūpa* (3) *rasa-lakṣaṇa*, especially *śṛṅgāra* (4) *doṣa* and *guṇa*, and

(5) *alaṃkāra*. It is based generally upon the *Pratāparudrīya*. Our author also wrote a commentary, also called *Alaṃkārendu-śekhara*, on some Kārikās on Poetics entitled *Lakṣaṇa-mālikā*[1].

54. NARAHARI SŪRI

Rasa-nirūpaṇa

This work and the author are mentioned by Kumārasvāmin at p. 224.

55. NARENDRAPRABHA SŪRI (Maladhāri)

Alaṃkāra-mahodadhi

(Ed. L. B. Gandhi, Gaekwad Orient. Series, Baroda 1942)

The author was a pupil of Naracandra of Harṣapurīya-gaccha. The work was composed at the request of Vastupāla (d. 1242 A.D.) in whose honour he wrote three Praśastis. It consists of eight chapters and deals with (i) Kāvya-phalādi (ii) Śabda-vaicitrya (iii) Dhvani including Rasa (iv) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya (v) Doṣa (vi) Guṇa (viii) Śabdālaṃkāra and (viii) Arthālaṃkāra. The work is stated to have been composed in Saṃvat 1282 (=1225-26 A.D.).[2]

1 See *Madras Cat.* xxii 12955, extract ; *SgS* i, 98-99 extract, also p. 11. V. Raghavan (*New Cat. Cat.* i p. 300) thinks that probably "the basic text of the *Lakṣaṇa-mālikā* is also by Nṛsiṃha himself."

2 The *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* of Nārāyaṇa Deva referred to by himself in his *Saṃgīta-nārāyaṇa* (*ABod* 201) is not a work on Rhetoric but deals with the subject of musical Alaṃkāras. The author, also called Gajapati Vīranārāyaṇa-deva, was son of Padmanābha and disciple of Puruṣottama Miśra. Similarly, the *Kāma-samūha* of Ananta, son of Maṇḍana and grandson of Nārāyaṇa (composed in 1457 A.D.), is really an anthology of erotic verses ; see P. K. Gode in *JOR*, Madras, xiv, pp. 74-81. The *Śṛṅgārālāpa* of Rāma, of which a MS is dated 1556 A.D., is a similar work (see P. K. Gode in *Journal of Bom. Univ.* xv (N.S.), pt. 2, 1946, pp. 81-88.

56. NĀRĀYAṆA

Kāvya-vṛtti-ratnāvalī (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5173)

The work is in nine Prakaraṇas. Its avowed object is to deal with Kavi-svarūpa, Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, Rasa-svarūpa and general principles of poetry.

57. NĀRĀYAṆA

Śabda-bheda-nirūpaṇa

The work deals with the three Vṛttis of word (Abhidhā etc). The author refers to Śāha Mahārāja whose protégé he was (=Shahaji, king of Tanjore 1686-1710). There is another work of Lakṣaṇa-kavi, called *Śāharājīya* (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5304), the illustrations of which eulogise this prince. See above p. 270, no. 15. Several works called *Śaba-bheda-nirūpaṇa* are found in *Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5301-3.

58. PADMASUNDARA

(*Akabara-śāhī*) *Śṛṅgāra-darpaṇa*

(Ed. Anup Skt. Series, Bikaner 1943)

The author was a Jaina monk of Akbar's time. The work is in four Ullāsas, but it is a rehashing of Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka.* The illustrative verses are addressed to the Mughal emperor Akbar. MS (Bikaner 9356) is dated 1569 A.D. See paper on the work by V. Raghavan in *C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Vol.*

59. PUÑJARĀJA

a. *Dhvani-pradīpa* (Aufrecht i. 273b)

b. *Kāvyālaṃkāra-śiśu-prabodha* or *Śiśu-prabodhālaṃkāra* (Aufrecht i. 103a)

The author was son of Jīvana (or Jivānanda) and Makū, of the Śrīmāla family of Malabar (*mālabhāra*), and his genealogy is given thus: Sādhu-sadepāla→Kora(ā?)→Pāma(ā?) →Govā→Yāmpaca→Jīvana. Jīvana's brother Megha and him-

self were ministers of Khalaci Śāhi Gayāsa ; and Jīvana had two sons Puñja and Muñja. 'Puñja became king, but abandoning his kingdom to his younger brother, devoted himself to study, and wrote some works[1]. The colophon [2] to Puñjarāja's *Sārasvata-ṭīkā* on *Sārasvata-prakriyā* says: *śrīmāla-kula-śrīmālabhāraśrī-puñjarāja°*, on which Bhandarkar remarks tha Puñjarāja was the ornament of the Mālava circle[3]. Aufrech thinks that the patron of Puñja's father and uncle wa: Ghiyas Shah Khalji of Mālava (about 1475 A.D.) and that Puñjarāja must have lived between 1475 and 1520 A. D. or at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century.

60. PUṆḌARĪKA

Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa (Aufrecht i. 284b ; *SCB* 308)

61. PUṆḌARĪKA (or PAUṆḌARĪKA) RĀMEŚVARA

Rasa-sindhu (Aufrecht iii. 106a)

The work consists of fourteen chapters called Ratnas. It quotes *Darpaṇa* (of Viśvanātha) and *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* of Bhānudatta ; hence later than 1500 A.D. For its date see P. K. Gode in *Calcutta Orient. Journal* ii, pp. 30-32, dating the work at about the beginning of the 15th century.

62. PURUṢOTTAMA SUDHĪNDRA

Kavitāvatāra (Aufrecht i. 87a)

The work, in ten chapters (called Vihāras), is dedicated to one Nāgabhūpāla, whom its illustrative verses panegyrise. A Puruṣottama is cited by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, see above p. 214, fn 6.

1 Peterson *Report* v, pp. xliii, 166-69.

2 Peterson *Report* v, p. 169 ; *AFI* 181.

3 *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 12 ; cf also the colophon to his *Śiśu-prabodha* quoted in *op. cit* p. 199. See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Literary Criticism*, i, pp. 68-72 on Puñjarāja's date.

63. PRAKĀŚVARṢA

Rasārṇavālaṃkāra

The text in Roman transliteration was published by V. Venkataram Sarma with an account of the work in *IHQ* v, 1929, pp. 173f. The Madras MS gives the work in five chapters, the first four of which deal with Doṣa, Guṇa and Alaṃkāra, the last (incomplete) with Rasa. It is possible that the whole of ch. v (now lost) dealt with Ubhayālaṃkāras and the major part of ch. vi (now recovered incomplete) with Rasa. See the question discussed by S. K. De in *IHQ* v, 770-780 and by V. Raghavan in *JOR* viii, 1934, pp. 267-276. The work is later than Bhoja whose works are extensively utilised. See also on this work S. P. Bhattacharya in *JOI*, Baroda, vii, 1957, nos. 1-2 and ix, 1959, pp. 5-16.

64. PRABHĀKARA BHAṬṬA

a. *Rasa-pradīpa*

(Ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Sarasvati Bhavana Text, Benares 1925. MSS: Weber 823 ; *SCC* vii 42, extract in both)

b. *Alaṃkāra-rahasya*, cited in his *Rasa-pradīpa*, pp. 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 20, 37, 38, 39, 40, 51.

The author was son of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa, and younger brother of Raghunātha and Viśvanātha, the last of whom he calls his 'vidyā-guru'. The *Rasa-pradīpa* was composed in Saṃvat 1640=1583 A.D. at the age of nineteen (Weber *loc. cit.*)[1]. Prabhākara was thus born in 1564 A. D. His *Laghu-saptaśatika-stotra*, an epitome of the *Devī-māhātmya* was written in 1629 A.D. He belongs, therefore, to the last quarter of the 16th and first quarter of the 17th century. The *Rasa-pradīpa* consists of three chapters (called *ālokas*) dealing with (1) *kāvya-lakṣaṇa* (2)

1 The date given in *SCC* vii, no. 42 is Saṃvat 1170=1114 A.D : but this must be a mistake.

rasa-viveka (3) *vyañjanā-nirūpaṇa.* The author cites Śrīharṣa Miśra, Miśra Rucinātha, Dharmadatta, Locanakāra (Abhinavapguta), Pradīpakṛt, Sāhityadarpaṇa-kāra. The Dharmadatta may be the same as quoted by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa.* Ananta in his commentary on *Āryā-saptaśatī* quotes a Rucinātha Miśra as a writer on Poetics. For Prabhākara's other works, see Aufrecht i. 353b. On citations in *Rasa-pradīpa* see S. K. De in *IHQ* viii, 1932, p. 358.

65. BALADEVA

Śṛṅgāra-hāra

(Kielhorn, *Rep.* 1880-81, p. 71=*BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 295, p. 351)

The author is described as son of Keśava. MS is dated in Saṃvat 1845 (=1789-90 A.D.).

66. BALADEVA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA

Kāvya-kaustubha

(Ed. Haridas Das, Navadvip, Bengal, 1957)

This work consists of nine *prabhās* and deals respectively with (1) Kāvya-phalādi (2) Śabdārtha-vṛtti (3) Rasa (4) Guṇa (5) Rīti (6) Doṣa (7) Dhvani-bheda (8) Madhyama-kāvya and (9) Śabdārthālaṃkāra. See above pp. 171-72 under commentators on Mammaṭa.

67. BĀLAKṚṢṆA BHAṬṬA

Alaṃkāra-sāra (Aufrecht i. 32b)

The work consists of ten chapters. Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, styled Tighara, was son of Govardhana Bhaṭṭa and belonged to the Vallabha Sampradāya. A work of this name is cited by Jayaratha (pp. 88, 97, 171, 172, 184); also in Bühler's *Catalogue* 1871-73. The *Alaṃkāra-sāra* quotes *Kuvalayānanda* and *Citra-mīmāṃsā*; and the Deccan College MS of the work (no. 23 of 1881-82) appears to have been copied in Saṃvat

1758 (=1702 A.D.). We can, therefore, assign it to a period between 1625 and 1700 A.D.

The ten Ullāsas of the work have the following topics respectively: (i) Kāvya-prayojana-kāraṇa-svarūpa (ii) Śabda-nirṇaya (iii) Artha-nirṇaya (iv) Dhvani-nirṇaya (v) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya-nirṇaya (vi) Śabdārtha-nirṇaya (vii) Doṣa (viii) Guṇa (ix) Śabdālaṃkāra and (x) Arthālaṃkāra.

68. BHĀVA MIŚRA or MIŚRA BHĀVA

Śṛṅgāra-sarasī

(*SCC* vii 43, extract)

The author of this treatise on amorous sentiments is described as son of Miśra Bhaṭaka.

69. BHĀṢYKĀRĀCĀRYA (or ? BHĀSKARĀCĀRYA)

Sāhitya-kallolinī

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12964, extract)

The author is described as a descendant of Varadaguru of Śrīvatsa-gotra, and a resident of Bhūtapurī or Śrīperumbūdūr. The verses are taken copiously from several well-known rhetorical works, e.g. Mammaṭa, the *Bhāva-prakāśa* etc. The author states his indebtedness to the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla ; hence he sould be placed later than the middle of the 14th century. The topics dealt with are *prabandha-bheda, nāṭya-nṛtta-nṛtya, vastu, saṃdhi nāyaka-lakṣaṇa, rūpaka, uparūpaka* and *kāvya-lakṣaṇa.*

70. BHĪMASENA DĪKṢITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-sāroddhāra*

b. *Alaṃkāra-sāra-sthiti* or *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana,* see above p. 225 under Appayya Dīkṣita.

He refers to both these works in his *Sudhā-sāgara* commentary on Mammaṭa (see p. 171). Date between 1650-1725 A.D.

71. BHĪMEŚVARA BHATTA

Rasa-sarvasva (Burnell 57a)

The author was son of Raṅga Bhaṭṭa.

72. BHŪDEVA ŚUKLA

Rasa-vilāsa

(Ed. Prem Lata Sarma, Poona 1952)

The author, son of Śukadeva of Jambusara in Gujarat, flourished between 1660 and 1720 A.D.[1] For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 414b and introd. to above ed. p. xii. The India Office MS of the present work (no. 1209/2526b) contains only three *stabakas* and the beginning of a fourth. Our author is the same as Bhūdeva Śukla who wrote the drama *Dharma-vijaya*[2] in five Acts.

The *Rasa-vilāsa* consists of seven chapters, called Stabakas. The topics dealt with are as follow, according to chapters: 1-2 Rasa, counted as nine including Śānta. 3 Bhava. 4 Guṇa. 5-6 Doṣa. 7 Vṛtti (Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā). As its editor rightly says it is a mediocre manual on Rasa and allied topics, which derives its material chiefly from Mammaṭa and Jagannātha and shows little originality.

73. MĀNASIṂHA

Sāhitya-sāra (Aufrecht i. 716a)

74. MOHANADĀSA

Rasodadhi

The work is cited by himself in his commentary on the

1 P. K. Gode, however, in *ABORI* xiii, p. 183, thinks that the *Rasa-vilāsa* was composed about 1550 A.D. As the *Rasa-vilāsa* refers to the definition of poetry given by *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, it could not have been composed earlier than 1660 A.D.

2 Ed. Granthamālā iii, 1889; also ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1930. See Mitra i, p. 37; Weber 1561; *IOC* vii, p. 1596.

Mahānāṭaka (*ABod* 143a). The author was son of Kamalāpati.

75. YAJÑANĀRĀYAṆA DĪKṢITA

Alaṃkāra-ratnākara (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5131)

Sāhitya-ratnākara (ed. T. R. Chintamani, Madras 1932)

The author was son of Govinda Dīkṣita, minister of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore who ruled between 1614 and 1633 A.D. Almost all the verses of the first work eulogise Raghunātha. The second work is really a Kāvya in sixteen cantos, dealing with the exploits of the same prince. Both the works form a companion to the author's *Raghunāthābhyudaya*. K. Kunjunni Raja (*Contribution of Kerala*, p. 134) is not correct in identifying him with Yajñeśvara Dīkṣita mentioned below.[1]

76. YAJÑEŚVARA DĪKṢITA

Alaṃkāra-rāghava (*Tanjore Cat*, 5132-33)

Alaṃkāra-sūryodaya (*Tanjore Cat.* 5140-41)

The author was son of Cerukūri Koṇḍubhaṭṭa and brother of Tirumala Yajvan.[2] The first work quotes *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla and *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* (apparently of Vīranārāyaṇa, *q.v.*) ; hence later than the 15th century (*c.* 1600 A.D.). The work is so called from the circumstance that the illustrative verses refer to Rāma. The author may be identical with Yajñeśvara already mentioned as a commentator on Mammaṭa (see p. 175). He may have been related to Lakṣmīdhara (*q.v.*) who also came from Cerukūri.

1 So also in *Tanjore* ix, 1933, no. 5132. The *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* ascribed Yajñanārāyaṇa (no. 5131), also eulogises Raghunātha Nāyaka, the poet's patron. Yajñeśvara and Yajñanārāyaṇa appear to be different persons.

2 See *ŚgŚ* ii, p. 65.

77. YAŚASVIN KAVI

Sāhitya-kautūhala and its commentary *Ujjvala-padā* (Aufrecht i. 715b, ii. 171a)

The author is described as son of Gopāla and Kāśī. The India Office MS (*Cat.* iii, p. 337) was copied in 1730 A.D.; it contains only the first chapter which deals with enigmatology and Citra-kāvya. There is another *Sāhitya-kutūhala* of Raghunātha, a protégé of queen Dīpābai of Tanjore (between 1675-1712 A.D.), also on Citra-kāvya (see *Journal Bomb. Univ.* x, p. 132f).

78. RATNABHŪṢAṆA

Kāvya-kaumudī (*HPS* ii, no. 35, extract)

This work in ten *paricchedas* is apparently a very modern composition by a Vaidya Pandit of East Bengal. It deals with (1) nāma, (2) liṅgādi, (3) dhātu-pratyaya, (4) kāvya-lakṣaṇa (5) dhvani, (6) guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya, (7) guṇa, (8) and (9) alaṃkāra, and (10) doṣa, the first three chapters being devoted to grammar. The date Śaka 1781 (=1859 A.D.) may be the date of its composition (*HPS ibid*, preface p. viii).

79. RAGHUNĀTHA MANOHARA

Kavi-kaustubha

P. K. Gode (*Poona Orientalist* vii, 1943, pp. 157-64) places this work between 1675 and 1700 A.D.

80. RĀGHAVA-CAITANYA

Kavi-kalpalatā (Aufrecht i. 87a)

Possibly the poet of the same name cited in the *Paddhati* as Rāghavacaitanya Śrīcaraṇa (71, 168, 877, 1557-8), which title apparently indicates that he was a well-known Vaiṣṇava. In the colophon to the codex containing Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā* in *SCC* vii, no. 7 (cf. *ABod* 211b), the reading is *māgha-caitanya-viracita-kavi-kalpalatāyāḥ* etc. This may be

a corruption of or mistake for the name Rāghavacaitanya, whose work may have got mixed up with that of Deveśvara himself.

81. RĀJACŪḌĀMAṆI DĪKṢITA

a. *Kāvya darpaṇa*

(Ed. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Vani Vilasa Press, Srirangam (no date). MSS: *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12809-814, with the commentary of Ravi-paṇḍita)

b. *Alaṃkāra-cūḍāmaṇi*

Mentioned in his *Kāvya-darpaṇa* (*Madras Cat*, xxii. 12809) or *Alaṃkāra-śiromaṇi* (Hultzsch i. extract p. 86)

The author, who is a well-known and prolific South Indian author, was son of Satyamaṅgala Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and Kāmākṣī, and step-brother of Keśava Dīkṣita and Śeṣādri-śekhara Dīkṣita. He was grandson of Bhāvasvāmin and Lakṣmī and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Dīkṣita, and pupil of Ardhanārīśvara Dīkṣita who was his brother (Hultzsch ii, p. x). The date of composition of his *Tantra-śikhāmaṇi*, a work on Mīmāṃsā, is stated to be 1636 A.D. He was, thus, a contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, whose *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya* Campū was also composed in 1636 A.D., and belonged to the first half of the 17th century. In his poem *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa* (in ten cantos) he states that he composed it when Raghunātha, son of Acyuta, was ruling at Tanjore; and his two dramas *Ānanda-rāghava* and *Kamalinī-kalahaṃsa* were staged in the court of the same prince. His genealogy and a long list of his other works are given in the concluding verses of his *Kāvya-darpaṇa*[1] and in his drama *Ānanda-rāghava*[2]. The *Kāvya-darpaṇa* in ten *ullāsas* covers generally all the topics of Poetics, while his other work deals specially with the poetic figures. The ten Ullāsas of the *Kāvya-darpaṇa*

1 Extract in *Madras Cat.* xxii no. 12809 and Hultzsch i, pp. 85-6.

2 *Madras Cat.* xiii, no. 12495. The *Kāvya-darpaṇa* mentions 26 works of the author.

deal with (i) Kāvya-svarūpa (ii) Śabdārtha (iii) Vyaṅgārtha (iv-vi) Kāvya-bheda (vii) Doṣa (viii) Guṇa (ix) Śabdālaṃkāra and (x) Arthālaṃkāra. The family to which Rājacūḍamaṇi belonged was known as *atirātra-yājin*. Śrīnivāsa Atirātrayājin in Aufrecht i. 672a is identical with Rājacūḍāmaṇi's father. He lived in Surasamudra in Toṇḍīra (i.e. in the region of Kāñcī). Cf Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 94. For a list of his other works see Hultzsch i, pp. ix-x, and introd, to the Vanivilasa Press ed. of *Kamalinī-kalahaṃsa*. His *Śaṃkarābhyudaya* has also been published by Vanivilasa Press, Srirangam.

82. RĀMACANDRA and GUṆACANDRA

Nāṭya dārpaṇa

(Ed. G. K. Srigondekar and L. B. Gandhi in 2 vols. Gaekwad Oriental Ser. Baroda vol. i 1929. Ed. based on a single MS ; Peterson v, p. 188)

A work of this name, but probably not identical, is cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* and Bharatamallika on Bhaṭṭi. The present work is in four *vivekas*, dealing with Dramaturgy, and mentions twelve varieties of Rūpaka and a number of Uparūpakas. The author Rāmacandra was the one-eyed pupil of Jaina Hemacandra[1] of whom Guṇacandra was also a pupil. He thus flourished between 1100 and 1175 A.D. He also wrote two dramatic works respectivly called *Raghu-vilāsa*[2] or *Raghu-vilāpa*[3] where he mentions four other works by himself, as well as *Satya-hariścandra* (ed. B. R. Arte, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1898) which gives a curious Jaina version of the Hariścandra legend. Rāmacandra is said to have been the author of a hundred works (*prabandha-śata-kāra*) ; and no less

1 Peterson, *Report* iv, pp. 16-7 ; Bühler's *Hemacandra* p. 44. The present work was first brought to notice by Sylvain Lévi in *JA*, cciii, 1923. P. K. Gode (*Studies*, i, pp. 36-42) places the work at 1150-1170 A.D.

2 Peterson *Report* v. 145.

3 Bühler *Kashmir Rep.* p. xlix.

than eleven of his dramatic works are quoted in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*.

83. RĀMACANDRA NYĀYAVĀGĪŚA

Kāvya-candrikā or *Alaṃkāra-candrikā* (Aufrecht i. 101a, 778b), with commentary called *Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā*

(ed. Comilla 1885 ; ed. Dacca 1886 with commentary of Jagabandhu Tarkavagisa ; ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912, with commentary *Alaṃkāra-mañjūṣā* by Rāmacandra Śarman who may be the author himself)

A Bengal writer described as son of Vidyānidhi. Is he identical with Nyāyavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, author of the *Kāvya-mañjarī* commentary on the *Kuvalayānanda* (see above p. 229)?

84. RĀMA ŚARMAN or RĀMA KAVI

Nāyikā-varṇana in 42 stanzas (*Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12901).

85. RĀMA SUBRAHMAṆYA

Alaṃkāra-śāstra-saṃgraha (Hultzsch 1562) or *Alaṃkāra-śāstra-vilāsa* (*Madras Trm* II C 1802, 1805 ; extract)

The author, also called Rāmasubbā, belonged to Tiruvisalore. He seems to be a very recent author, who appears to have also written some philosophical works noticed in the Catalogues cited above.

86. RĀMA SUDHĪ or SUDHĪŚVARA

Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī

(Ed. with *Ratna-śobhākara* comm. of Kṛṣṇa Sūri in Telugu script, Vizagapatam 1897-98)

The author was son of Nṛsiṃha.

87. LAKṢMĪDHARA DĪKṢITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī* (Aufrecht i. 32a)[1]

b. *Rasa-mañjarī*, cited by himself in his commentary on the *Gīta-govinda*

c. *Bharata-śāstra-grantha* (BORI MS no. 40 1916-18)[2]

The author was son of Yajñeśvara and Sarvāmbikā (or Ambikāmbā), grandson of Timmaya Somayājin, and brother and pupil of Koṇḍubhaṭṭa, He belonged to the Kāśyapa Gotra and bore the surname of Dakṣiṇāmūrti-kiṃkara. His family came from Cerukūri on the Kṛṣṇā river (in Andhra country) which place Hultzsch thinks to be identical with modern Peddacerukūru near Bāpaṭla. He is identical with Lakṣmīdhara, author of the Prakrit grammar *Ṣaḍbhāṣā-candrikā.* He also wrote commentaries on the *Anargha-rāghava*, *Prasanna-rāghava* and *Gīta-govinda.* In the first of these commentaries it is said that after having led the life of a householder for a long time, he travelled to different countries and conquered all literary opponents, and then having renounced the cares of the world he became a *saṃnyāsin* or *yati* with the name Rāmānanda or Rāmānandāśrama, under a Guru called Kṛṣṇāśrama. Lakṣmīdhara (who is also sometimes called Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa or Lakṣmaṇa Sūri) was patronised by Tirumalarāja, probably Tirumala I of the third Vijayanagar dynasty[3], to whom his *Śruti-rañjanī* commentary on Jayadeva's

1 V. Raghavan (*New Catalogus Cat.* i, p. 296) queries whether this work is really the *Alaṃk. muktāvalī* of Viśveśvara (*q.v.*), son of Lakṣmīdhara, and refers to *ABORI*, xviii, 1937, p. 200.

2 See P. K. Gode *ABORI* xv, 1953, p. 240-42. Mentions *Bharatārṇava* and *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*. The *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa* (*Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12802), said to be based on some work of Pingala's, gives miscellaneous information about a poet's personal appearance, qualities etc. (cf. Rājaśekhara, *Kav. Mīm.* ch. x) ; the name of the author is not known. See above under Gauranārya, p. 278.

3 *EI* iii p. 238 Table. He died in 1572 A.D.

Gīta-govinda is sometimes attributed[1]. As the prince flourished in the middle of the 16th century, Lakṣmīdhara's date would be the same[2].

88. VALLABHA BHAṬṬA

Alaṃkāra-kaumudī (ed. Granthamālā ii, 1889)

A short treatise of very recent times, dealing with poetic figures, the illustrations being in praise of Rāma,

89. VIṬṬHALEŚVARA or VIṬṬHALA DĪKṢITA

Rīti-vṛtti-lakṣaṇa (Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 104)

The author, also called Agnikumāra, was the second son of Vallabhācārya the famous religious reformer, and brother of Gopīnātha, and father of seven sons, Giridhara, Raghunātha and others. He was born in 1515 A.D. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 572ab, 135a, 225a, iii. 121a. His *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-maṇḍana* (ed. Mulchand Tulsidas Telivala, with a Gujarati trs. Bombay 1919) in ten Ullāsas is not a work on Śṛṅgāra Rasa, but an erotico-religious poem on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa modelled obviously on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* and introducing songs in rhythmic rhymed metres.

90. VIDYĀRĀMA

Rasa-dīrghikā

(Peterson iii. no. 336 ; for a description of this work and extracts see *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 210, p. 240. MS incomplete)

Nothing is known of the author, but the work in five Sopānas was composed in Saṃvat 1706 =1649-50 A. D.). It names *Kavi-kalpalatā* as one of the sources.

1 See Hultzsch 2112 ; *SgS* ii, pp. 203-5. See also *SgS* ii, pp. 63-5, 67 ; Hultzsch iii, pp. viii-ix.

2 See K. P. Trivedi, introd. to his ed. of the *Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā-candrikā* (Bombay Skt. Ser. 1916) pp. 14-17. P. K. Gode (*ABORI*, xv, pp. 240-42) would place him in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

91. VIŚVANĀTHA

Sāhitya-sudhā-sindhu (*Ulwar Catalogue*, extract 235 ; also *Jammu Cat.* no. 1254)

This South Indian author, who wrote in Benares, was son of Trimala or Trimalla Deva and grandson of Ananta of Dhārāsura city on the Godāvarī. Stein's Kashmirian MS[1] is dated in 1602 A.D.[2] He quotes at the beginning of his work from Mammaṭa and Bhoja, and elsewhere cites Caṇḍīdāsa (probably the same as the commentator on Mammaṭa) and Mahimabhaṭṭa. The work is in eight *taraṅgas*. Viśvanātha also wrote a drama called *Mṛgāṅka-lekhā*[3], a MS of which is dated Saṃvat 1664 (=1608 A.D.).

92. VIŚVANĀTHA NYĀYA-(or SIDDHĀNTA-) PAÑCĀNANA

Alaṃkāra-pariṣkāra

This work is mentioned under Viśvanātha Nyāya-pañcānana in S. C. Vidyabhushana's *Indian Logic* p. 479 (also p. 392). The author was son of Vidyānivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya and a brother of Rudra Vācaspati. He composed his well known Vaiśeṣika treatise *Bhāṣā-pariccheda* in 1634 A.D. and also wrote a *Piṅgala-prakāśikā*. He was a native of Navadvipa (Bengal) and an adherent of the Navya Nyāya school of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. See H. P. Sastri in *JASB* vi, 1910, p. 313.

1 *Jammu Cat.* p. xxix.

2 Stein speaks of a MS "transcribed from an autograph copy of the author. In the colophon referring to this original copy, which is added by another hand at the end of the Jammu MS, the date *saṃvat* 1659 (=A.D. 1602) can be made out with difficulty."

3 Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 113. The work has been published in the Sarasvati Bhavana Text Series, Benares.

93. VIŚVEŚVARA KAVICANDRA

Camatkāra-candrikā
(*IOC* vii, p. 1507 ; *Madras Trm Cat.* 1916-19, 1918-19, R 2679)

The author, a protégé of Śiṅga-bhūpāla (1330 A. D.) wrote this work in eight Vilāsas or chapters on principles of rhetoric, the illustrative verses being in praise of the author's patron (*siṃhabhūpāla-kīrti-sudhā-sāra-śitalā*). He gives seven elements of Camatkāra in poetry, and the names of the chapters will sufficiently illustrate its scope. They are as follow: (i) Varṇa, Pada and Pada-doṣas (ii) Vākya and Vākya-doṣas (iii) Artha and Artha-doṣas ; varieties of composition (iv) Guṇas ; Rīti, Vṛtti, Pāka and Śayyā (v) Rasa (vi) Śabdālaṃkāras (vii) Arthālaṃkāras and (viii) Ubhayālaṃkāras. The work is noteworthy as one of the few Alaṃkāra-treatises which generally follow Bhoja ; but the author does not do so in respect of the treatment of Rasa, eight of which he accepts, dismissing Śānta. Four Rītis are recognised, and called Asamāsā, Madhyama-samāsā, Atidīrgha-samāsā and Miśrā. He anticipates later writers in describing Rasa as Lokottarāhlāda, Anubhavaika-vedya and Vigalita-vedyāntara. It is perhaps the first work which makes an approach through Camatkāra, on the basis of which poetry is classified into three groups: Camatkāri (Śabda-citra), °kāritara (Artha-citra and Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya) and °kāritama (Vyaṅgya-pradhāna). For detailed information and estimate of the work see V. Raghavan, *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35), pp. 131-39.

94. VIŚVEŚVARA BHAṬṬA

a. *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*
(with his own gloss, ed. Sivadatta and K.P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1898)

b. *Alaṃkāra-muktāvalī* (ed. Visnuprasad Bhandari, Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Benares 1927)

c. *Alaṃkāra-(kula)-pradīpa* (ed. Visnuprasad Bhandari, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1923)

d. *Kavīndra-karṇābharaṇa* (ed. in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka viii, 1891)

e. *Rasa-candrikā* (ed. Visnuprasad Bhandari, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1926)

The author was son of Lakṣmīdhara. He was born in Ālmoḍa ; hence he is called Pārvatīya. He flourished in the first half of the 18th century and died about its middle[1] at the age of 34. In the first work, the author refers to two dramas called *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī* (*saṭṭaka*)[2] p. 347 and *Rukmiṇī-pariṇaya* pp. 381, 387 by himself ; and the latest writers that he quotes appear to be Appayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha (both cited extensively). He cites also Mallinātha (p. 69) as a commentator on Daṇḍin (see above p. 71), Caṇḍīdāsa (pp. 125, 166), Maheśvara (p. 49, 111) who is probably the commentator on Mammaṭa, cited as Nyāyālaṃkāra (p. 82), as well as a work (p. 157) called *Kāvya-ḍākinī*[3]. The Nyāyapañcānana, so extensively (eleven times) quoted, is probably Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (*q.v.*), another commentator on Mammaṭa. He gives the name of his elder brother as Umāpati (p. 357). In this work he deals with 61 poetic figures. The second work of our author, as he himself says, was written as an easier and briefer manual for beginners, after his first more extensive work. The third work *Alaṃkāra-pradīpa* deals entirely with poetic figures, enumerated as 119 and defined with illustrations. The fourth work deals in four chapters with enigmatology and Citra-kāvya (58 varieties). The fifth work deals with the different classes of heroes and heroines, and their characteristics. Viśveśvara was a scholiast of considerable activity and wrote a commentary called *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* or *Samañjasārthā* on Bhānudatta's

1 See Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka viii, pp. 51-52 fn.

2 Also quoted in his *Rasa-candrikā* p. 90.

3 See above p. 276.

Rasa-mañjarī (see above p. 249). For his other works, see Aufrecht ii. 139b. The Kāvyamālā editors (Gucchaka viii, p. 52) mention two other works *Kāvya-tilaka* and *Kāvya-ratna* by Viśveśvara.

95. VIṢṆUDĀSA

a. *Śiśu-prabodha Alaṃkāra* (*AFl* 469)

b. *Kavi-kautuka* cited by himself in chapter vii of the above work

The author was son of Mādhava. The Florentine MS, referred to above, contains only chapters 6 and 7, which deal with *artha-guṇa* and *śabdālaṃkāra* respectively.

96. VĪRA NĀRĀYAṆA

Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi with a commentary
(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12265-68, extract)

According to the colophon, Vīra Nārāyaṇa is the author; but in the work itself he is in the vocative case and praised, as in the *Pratāparudra*. Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa[1] is the real author of the work which bears the name of his patron. The alleged author seems to be the same as the Reḍḍi prince Vema of Koṇḍavīḍu (end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century), the hero of the prose *Vemabhūpāla-carita* or *Vīranārāyaṇa-carita* of Vāmana (or Abhinava) Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (ed. R. V. Krishnamachariar, Srivani-vilasa Press 1910). There is also a reference to Pedakomaṭi Vema-bhūpāla who is the same person. A commentary called *Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā* on the *Amaru-śataka* is attributed to Vīranārāyaṇa (Aufrecht ii, 141b) or Vema-bhūpāla (*ibid* i, 609b). The *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* (also called °*cūḍāmaṇi*) consists of seven chapters[2] which deal

1 For Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, see introd to the Vani Vilas ed. of his drama *Pārvatī-pariṇaya*.

2 In the *Tanjore Catalogue*, ix, no. 5308, p. 4100 the work is described as having thirteen chapters.

with (1) *dhvani* (2) *śabdārtha* (3) *dhvani-bheda* (4) *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* (5) *doṣa* (6) *guṇa* and (7) *alaṃkāra*. Possibly this is the work cited under the name *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇī* by Kumārasvāmin (p. 97) and in the *Vṛtti-vārttika* (p. 4).

97. VĪREŚVARA PAṆḌITA (BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA)

surnamed Śrīvara

Rasa-ratnāvalī (*IOC* iii, 1233/12576, p. 359)

This Vīreśvara is the son of Lakṣmaṇa and father of Veṇīdatta, the last of whom, besides being the author of the *Alaṃkāra-candrodaya*, wrote a commentary on Bhānu's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (see above p. 250). The present work quotes Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, and is limited chiefly to Śṛṅgāra-rasa and treatment of the Nāyikās.

98. VECĀRĀMA NYĀYĀLAṂKĀRA

Kāvya-ratnākara

The author was a Bengal writer, son of Rājārāma. He mentions this work in his *Ānanda-taraṅgiṇī*, which describes an itinerary from Chandernagar to Benares (Mitra 305). He also wrote a work on Jyotiṣa, and is probably identical with Vecārāma, who wrote a commentary on Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā* (see above p. 262).

99. VEṄKAPAYYA PRADHĀNA

Alaṃkāra-maṇi-darpaṇa (Rice 280)

The author is known as Pradhāni Veṅkayāmātya of Mysore, *ca.* 1763-80 A.D.

100. VEṄKAṬA NĀRĀYAṆA DĪKṢITA

Śṛṅgāra-sāra (*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12958-9, extract)

The author, son of Kāmeśvara Vaidika of the Godavarti family and Lakṣmī, refers in this work to his larger *Śṛṅgāra-*

sārāvalī for fuller treatment. The present work consists of six *ullāsas* dealing with (1) *kāvya-svarūpa* (2) *nāyaka-nāyikā-lakṣaṇa-vibhāga* (3) *nāyakādi-sahāya-nirūpaṇa* (4) *rasa-bhāva-svarūpa* (5) *caturvidha-śṛṅgāra* (6) *daśarūpaka-svarūpa*. The author is said to have composed works in eight languages.

101. VEṄKAṬĀCĀRYA (also called Kirīṭi Veṅkaṭācārya) surnamed Tarkālaṃkāra Vāgīśvara

Alaṃkāra-kaustubha

(*New Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 292-93)

This writer, son of Aṇṇayārya Dīkṣita of Surapuram and of the Tirumala Bukkapaṭṭaṇam Śrīśaila family, should be distinguished from the poet Veṅkṭācārya (author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*) who was son of Raghunātha and grandson of Appayya. Our author was patronised by Veṅkaṭa, son of Pāmi Nāyaka (died in 1802 A.D.). See *Journal of Andhra Hist. Res. Society* xiii, i, pp. 17 and 20-22.

102. VEṆĪDATTA ŚARMAN, TARKAVĀGĪŚA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, surnamed Śrīvara

Alaṃkāra-candrodaya (*IOC* iii, 1198/235)

This author, son of Vīreśvara Śrīvara, also wrote a commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* (*q.v.*). His genealogy is given thus: Mahīdhara (a māntrika of Kāśīpati)→Kalyāṇa→Lakṣmaṇa→Vīreśvara. He had the surname Śrīvara and belonged to *nāgacchatra-dhara-dvijottama-kula*. The *Alaṃkāra-candrodaya* is in six *ullāsas* dealing with (1) kāvya-svarūpa (2) kāvya-vibhāga (3) doṣa (4) guṇa (5) alaṃkāra and (6) upamā.

103. ŚAṄKHA, ŚAṄKHADHARA or ŚAṄKHACŪḌA (sometimes called ŚAṂKARA), surnamed Kavirāja

Kavi-karpaṭī or *Kavi-karpaṭika-racanā*

(*Jammu Cat.* no. 1135 (p, 267) extract; *BORI MS Cat.* xii, nos. 42-46 ; extracts. Printed at Durbhanga 1892)

The word *kavi-karpaṭī* means "the ragged cloth of a poet," and the work is a strange effort at supplying a profuse stock of expressions which may be of use in poetic compositions for ideas of frequent occurrence. Various ways of expressing one and the same thought are indicated to suit various metres. The author, who also wrote the *Laṭakamelaka-prahasana* (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1889), was court-poet of *mahāmāṇḍalikādhirāja* Govinda-nṛpati, king of Kānyakubja, and wrote in the first half of the 12th century (about 1113-1143 A.D.). His verses are quoted in the anthologies of Śārṅgadhara (nos. 155, 3632) and Jahlaṇa, and in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* iii. 219 p. 176, *guror giraḥ pañca*, anonymously). The verse cited under Kārpaṭika in Kṣemendra's *Aucitya-vicāra* (under *śl*. 15) is attributed to Mātṛgupta by Kahlaṇa (iii. 181) and in the *Subhāṣitāvali*[1] (3181).

104. ŚAMBHUNĀTHA

Alaṃkāra-lakṣaṇa

(Peterson v. 407 ; *BORI Cat.* xii, no. 19, p. 18)

105. ŚĀTAKARṆI

Cited as a writer on Dramaturgy (on Sūtra-dhāra) by Śaṃkara in his commentary on *Śakuntalā*[2], and by Sāgara Nandin in his *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa* (on Sūtradhāra).

1 See Peterson's paper on *Aucitya-vicāra*, 1885, p. 21. There is a *Kavi-karpaṭikā* of Vādīndra noticed in *Tanjore Cat.* vi, no. 3753-56 (pp. 2711-14) ; one of these MSS belonged king Serfoji who acquired it during his pilgrimage to Benares.

2 *ABod* 135a. Mention is also made of an anonymous work *Kavi-kaṇṭha-hāra*.

106. ŚIVARĀMA TRIPĀṬHIN

a. *Rasa-ratna-hāra* and its commentary *Lakṣmī-vihāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 6, 1890, pp. 118-140; *Jammu Cat.* p. 273 (extract)

b. *Alaṃkāra-samudgaka*, cited at the end of his *Rāvaṇa-puravadha*, where he gives a list of his own 34 works. Stein p. 292.

For the author, son of Kṛṣṇarāma and grandson of Triloka-candra, and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Keśavarāma, see *JAOS* xxiv 57-63. He appears to be a comparatively recent writer, quoting *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*, which alone will suffice to place him in the beginning of the 18th century. He is identical with the commentator on the *Vāsavadattā* (see Fitzedward Hall, Bibl. Ind. ed. 1859); for in this commentary he refers to his *Rasa-ratna-hāra* pp. 4, 9, 193, 206, 207. The present work, in 100 stanzas, deals with the characteristics of *rasa* and *nāyaka-nāyikā*, and quotes extensively Bhānudatta and *Daśa-rūpaka*. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 652b, ii. 155b; also Stein, *Jammu Cat.* p. 292. He also appears to have written a commentary (*Viṣama-padī*) on Mammaṭa (see above, p. 176) and a work on metrics called *Kāvya-lakṣmī-prakāśa* or °*vihāra*, as well as a commentary on the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, called *Vidyā-vilāsa*[1],

107. ŚOBHĀKARAMITRA

Alaṃkāra-ratnākara

(Ed. C. R. Devadhar, Poona 1942)

The author belonging to Kashmir was son of Trayīśvara-mitra. The work is written in the form of Sūtra (107 in number), Vṛtti and illustrations. The poet Yaśaskara of Kashmir extracted the Sūtras from this work and wrote his *Devī-stotra* for the purpose of illustrating them (Peterson i, pp. 77-78; extract p. 81). Ratnakaṇṭha (*q.v.*) appears to have commented

1 See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Lit. Hist.* ii, p. 237-41.

upon both the Sūtras and the Stotra. The date of Śobhākara is not known, but from the definitions and number of Alaṃkāras given, he appears to be a comparatively recent writer, considerably later than Ruyyaka whom he criticises. But as he is quoted by Jagannātha (p. 202=*sūtra* 11)[1] and by Appayya (*Vṛtti-vārttika,* p. 20), he is earlier than the end of the 16th century. It appears, however, that Jayaratha in his *Vimarśinī* commentary defends Ruyyaka against Śobhākara's attacks. Coming after Ruyyaka and preceding Jayaratha Śobhākara probably belonged to the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century. The work deals entirely with poetic figures, the number of which is 109.

108. ŚRĪKAṆṬHA

Rasa-kaumudī

(Aufrecht i. 494a=BORI MS no. 303 of 1880-81 ; *Cat.* xii, no. 347, p. 463f. Also H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS* vi, no. 4931/8383, p. 481 ; the MS was copied in Saṃvat 1652=1596 A.D.

The work combines Sāhitya and Saṃgīta in ten chapters divided into two Khaṇḍas, Pūrva and Uttara. It was composed in 1575 A.D. The author was patronised by Śatrughna or Śatruśalya Jāma (Jam. Sattarsal) of Navanagar (1569 to 1608 A.D.).[2]

109. ŚRĪKARA MIŚRA

Alaṃkāra-tilaka (Aufrecht i. 32a)

110. ŚRĪNIVĀSA DĪKṢITA

a. *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* (Aufrecht i. 31b)

b. *Kāvya-darpaṇa* (Rice 282)

1 See above p. 235 (under Jagannātha).

2 P. K. Gode in *ABORI* xii, 1931, p. 202-4 ; also xiv, 1933, p. 329 see *MSS Cat. BORI,* xii, pp. 463-66.

c. *Kāvya-sāra-saṃgraha* (Aufrecht i. 102b ; *SCC* vii 19)

d. *Sāhitya-sūkṣma-saraṇi* (Rice 244)

This author may be identical with Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa, father of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita (*q.v.*). If this were so, then the *Kāvya-darpaṇa* above is the work of his son bearing the same title (see above p. 296), mistakenly entered here in most catalogues. As the first verse of the third work shows, it is three parts: (1) kāvya-lakṣaṇa-saṃgraha (2) varṇa-saṃgraha and (2) subhāṣita-saṃgraha. It quotes the *Kāvya-prakāśa.* About 1800 A.D.

111. SĀGARA NANDIN

Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa

(Ed. Myles Dillon, Oxford Univ. Press 1937)

The work is published from Devanāgarī transcript of a unique MS discovered by Sylvain Lévi in Nepal.[1] As its name signifies, the work brings together a number of views of different notable writers on important dramaturgic topics. Its date[2] is uncertain ; but as it cites from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 44, *vilāsa-vinyāsa-kramo*) it cannot be earlier than the first quarter of the 10th century. On the other hand, it is known to Rāyamukuṭa (1431 A.D.), Viśvanātha (between 1300 and 1350) and Bahurūpa Miśra (later than 1250 A.D.). The topics dealt with are: 1. Rūpaka and its ten varieties. 2-5. Five Avasthās, dialects to be employed, five Artha-prakṛtis. 6-10. Five Upakṣepakas, five Saṃdhis, 21 Pradeśas of Saṃdhi, four Patākāsthāna, Vṛttis and their division. 11. Excellences of the Nāyaka. 12-13. Thirty-six Nāṭya-lakṣaṇas, ten Guṇas,

1 S. Lévi in *JA*, xciii, 1923, p. 210f.

2 For a discussion of date see P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xix, 1938, pp. 280-88 (*Studies*, i, pp. 48-56) ; M. Ramkrishna Kavi in *NIA* ii, p. 412-19. For textual study see V. Raghavan in *Journal of the Univ. of Gauhati* iii, 1952, pp. 17-33 and *Annals of Orient. Research*, Madras Univ., xvi, 1958-59.

thirty-four Nāṭyālaṃkāras. 14-16. Rasas and Bhāvas. 17. Types of Nāyikā and their excellences. 18. Minor forms of Rūpaka. The work is important not only for its collection of various views on these topics, but also for its citation of a large number of dramatic and dramaturgic works.[1]

112. SĀMARĀJA DĪKṢITA

Śṛṅgārāmṛta-laharī

(ed. Kāvyamāla Gucchaka xiv. MSS: *Jammu Cat.* no. 1243 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12961)

The author, also called Śyāmarāja, was son of Narahari Bindupurandara, and wrote also *Tripura-sundarī-mānasa-pūjana-stotra* (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka ix) and other poems. He lived in Mathurā at the latter part of the 17th century. His son Kāmarāja, whose *Śṛṅgāra-kalikā-kāvya* is published in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka xiv, as well as a Prahasana named *Dhūrta-nartaka*[2] was also a poet; while his grandson Vrajarāja and his great-grandson Jīvarāja wrote commentaries on the *Rasa-mañjarī* and *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* of Bhānudatta respectively (*q.v.*). The present work deals with Rasa, especially Śṛṅgāra, after Bhānudatta. Our author wrote his drama *Śrīdāma-carita* in 1681 A.D. for the Bundela-prince Ānandarāya. His son Kāmarāja also appears to have written a *Kāvyendu-prakāśa* in 15 Ullāsas (Kalās), which is apparently the same work as entered anonymously in Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91, no. 601 and in *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, no. 142, pp. 158-60, which see for information about this work.

Sāmarāja, who wrote *Rati-kallolinī* in 1719 A.D. but who does not give his parentage, is probably a different person.[3]

1 For an index of authors and titles, see ed. as above pp. 145-47 and P. K. Gode as cited above p. 485 fn. As authors on *Nāṭya-śāstra* are mentioned Aśmakuṭṭa (lines 83, 437, 2766, 2775), Cārāyaṇa (l. 392 ; also mentioned in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* i. 1.12 ; i. 5. 22), and Bādara.

2 Wilson ii. 407 ; Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 262-63.

3 See P. K. Gode in *ABORI* x, pp. 158-59.

113. SĀYAṆA

Alaṃkāra-sudhānidhi

Cited by Appayya Dīkṣita and Kumārasvāmin ; see above p. 225 fn 3.

114. SUKHADEVA MIŚRA

Śṛṅgāra-latā (Aufrecht i. 661a)

A *bhāṣā*-work, called *Rasārṇarva*, by Sukhadeva is mentioned in Peterson iv, no. 770 (App. p. 29).

115. SUKHALĀLA

Alaṃkāra-mañjarī (*AFl* 213)

The author, pupil of Gaṅgeśa Miśra and his son Hariprasāda (*q.v.*), professes to follow the Kārikās of Jayadeva. Aufrecht thinks that he must have flourished about 1740 A.D. The work begins with *upamā* and takes up *rūpaka*, *pariṇāma*, *smṛtimat*, *bhrāntimat*, *saṃdeha*, *utprekṣā*, where the MS breaks off. A Kāvya called *Śṛṅgāra-mālā*, composed in Saṃvat 1801=1745 A.D. by Sukhalāla, son of Bābūrāya Miśra, is entered in Stein 75 and *Ulwar Cat.* no. 1083 (extract 230).

116. SUDHĀKARA PUṆḌARĪKA YĀJIN

Śṛṅgāra-sārodadhi (Aufrecht iii. 137b)

117. SUDHĪNDRA YOGIN or YATI

Alaṃkāra-nikaṣa
(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12976, extract)
Alaṃkāra mañjarī with commentary, *Madhu-dhāra* by Sumatīndra
(*Tanjore Cat.* ix, 5129-30)

The *Alaṃkāra-nikaṣa* is a short work on Arthālaṃkāra. The colophon gives the author's name as above ; but in the work it is said that the author, following the views of ancient and

modern authorities on the subject, deals with and illustrates the Arthālaṃkāras by means of examples eulogising the virtues of Sudhīndra Yati himself who is made out to be a follower of the Mādhva sect. He is probably the same as Sudhīndra Yati, disciple and successor of Vijayīndra Yati (d. 1623 A. D.). The *Alaṃkāra-nikarṣa* by Sudhendra in Oppert 4797 is probably this work. The *Alaṃkāra-mañjarī* appears to be separate work by Sudhīndra Yati in which the illustrative verses are in praise of the teacher Vijayīndra. Most of the MSS contain the Śabdālaṃkāras only. There is a commentary on this work called *Madhu-dhārā* by Sumatīndra, a successor of Sudhīndra. We are told that Sudhīndra was living in the Tanjore district in the 17th century. A drama called *Subhadrā-pariṇaya* is attributed to Sudhīndra Yati in *Madras Cat.* xxi no. 12729 and a drama called *Subhadrā-dhanañjaya* to Vijayīndra Yati in *ibid* no. 12728.

118. SUNDARA MIŚRA AUJĀGARI

Nāṭya-pradīpa (Aufrecht i. 284b, 791a)

The work is dated in 1613 A.D. It is cited by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* (ed. N.S.P. 1886, p. 6). This work repeats *verbatim* a large portion of the *Daśa-rūpaka* (see pref. to Hall's ed.). In the work itself the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is referred to. The author is the same as Sundara Miśra who wrote the *Abhirāmamaṇi-nāṭaka* in seven acts in 1599 A. D. which is mentioned as his own (*ABod* 137b-138a ; Kielhorn *Central Prov.* p. 68 ; Wilson ii p. 395). See *IOC* iii, pp. 347-48, no. 1199/1148d (extract).

119. SOMANĀRYA

Nāṭya-cūḍāmaṇi

(*Madras Cat.* xxii 12998, with a Telugu commentary)

This is a very recent work on dancing and music[1]. The

1 See V. Raghavan on Later Saṃgīta Literature in the *Journal of Madras Music Acad.* iv.

author is described as one famous for *aṣṭāvadhāna* (attention to eight things at a time).

120. HARIDĀSA

Prastāva-ratnākara

(Weber 827 ; Aufrecht i 360a, ii 212a iii 77a)

The author was son of Puruṣottama of the Karaṇa family, and the work is a metrical compilation dealing with *kūṭa*, *samasyā* and enigmatic composition in general, as well as with miscellaneous subjects including Nīti, Jyotiṣa etc. It was compiled in 1557 A.D.

121. HARIPRASĀDA MĀTHURA

a. *Kāvyārtha-gumpha*
(Aufrecht ii. 20b ; *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 131, p. 145, the MS is dated Saṃvat 1775)

b. *Kāvyāloka*
(Aufrecht i. 103a, extract in Peterson iii p. 356-7)

The second work in seven *prakāśas* is dated in Saṃvat 1734=1728 A.D. A MS of the first work bears the date 1775 which is possibly the date also of its composition. Hariprasāda is also author of a work on *ācāra* (*māsādi-nirūpaṇa*), see Peterson iv, p. cxxxvii. A *Kāvyāloka* is cited by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* ; but this must have been an earlier work. The *Kāvyāloka* cited by Kumārasvāmin p. 73 refers the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 221), and is not, as supposed by Harichand Sastri (p. 27, no. 234) a reference to the present work. The author was son of Māthura Miśra Gaṅgeśa (see above under Sukhalāl).

122. HARIHARA

a. *Śṛṅgāra-bheda-pradīpa* (Burnell 59a)

b. *Bindvalaṃkāra*, cited in *Ekāvalī* p. 242 (on Dīpaka)

One Harihara is referred to in the *Ekāvalī* p. 19 as having received amazing wealth from king Arjuna, who is supposed

by Bhandarkar and Trivedi (see above p. 206) to be identical with Arjunavarman of Mālava, whose earliest and latest known dates are 1211 and 1216 A.D. If this Harihara be our author, then his date will be the first quarter of the 13th century. The *Śṛṅgāra-bheda°* deals, among other topics, with the ten Avasthās of Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra, as we know from a passage which is quoted by Viśveśvara in his *Rasa-candrikā* (p. 55).

123. HALADHARA RATHA

Kāvya-tattva-vicāra

(H. P. Sastri's *Report*, 1895-1900, p. 16).

ANONYMOUS WORKS

We give below a list of some minor works on Alaṃkāra, of which the names of the authors are unkown or uncertain:

1. *Alaṃkāra-kārikā.* Aufrecht i. 31b.

2. *Alaṃkāra-kaumudī-vyākhyā. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12784. Neither the name of the author of the original treatise nor that of the commentary is given. It treats of poetic figures.

3. *Alaṃkāra-candrikā.* Rice 284 (Aufrecht i. 32).

4. *Alaṃkāra-darpaṇa* in Prakrit, consisting of 134 Ślokas devoted to the treatment of poetic figures. *Monatsber. Berl. Akad.* 1874, 282.

5. *Alaṃkāra-prakaraṇa. ŚgŚ* i, no. 52.

6. *Alaṃkāra-prakāśikā. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12791. It deals with poetic figures and quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa.*

7. *Alaṃkāra-mayūkha.* Oppert 1754 (Aufrecht i. 32).

8. *Alaṃkāra-vādārtha.* Śabda-bheda discussion, starting with the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa. HPS* i, 12.

9. *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12795. It enumerates and classifies the various poetic figures.

10. *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12798 (MS. incomplete). The author says that his teacher composed a work on Alaṃkāra in praise of king Gopāladeva. It is a treatise on the general topics of Alaṃkāra, but the MS is incomplete, breaking off with the Guṇa-prakaraṇa. It appears to be a recast of *Pratāparudrīya.* For the uncertain name of the author see V. Raghavan, *New Cat. Cat.* i, 2976 ; *Number of Rasas* p. 50, also note in Addendum.

11. *Alaṃkārānukramaṇikā.* Oppert 5489 (Aufrecht i. 32b).

12. *Alaṃkāreśvara,* cited by Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā* p. 4.

13. *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa.* See above p. 278. 299 fn. *Madras Cat.* xxii. 12802-03.

14. *Kavi-kalpalatikā.* Burnell 54a.

15. *Kavi-saraṇa-dīpikā.* A work on poetic composition by one Ratneśvara. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS.* vi. no. 4915A/8069, pp. 471-73.

16. *Kāvya-kalāpa.* Aufrecht i. 100b.

17. *Kāvya-kaustubha.* Oppert ii. 3616 (Aufrecht i. 101a).

18. *Kāvya-dīpikā,* Oppert 541, 636 ; *Madras Cat.* xxii. 12815. A compilation for beginners. Probably the same as Kānticandra's *Kāvya-dīpikā* (see below).

19. *Kāvya-pariccheda,* Oppert ii. 8727.

20. *Kāvya-ratna.* Oppert ii. 6237. See above p. 220.

21. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12829. It is based on the Kārikās of *Kāvya-prakāśa,* but adds a section on dramaturgy (cf. Oppert i. 1793 and ii. 6238).

22. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa-vicāra. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12979. A comparatively modern work on the general topics of Alaṃkāra, citing the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara.*

23. *Kāvyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī.* See above p. 177.

24. *Kāvyopadeśa,* cited by Hemādri on *Raghu* (Aufrecht i. 103a).

25. *Daśarūpaka-vivaraṇa. Madras Cat.* xxii, 12892. This work is not a commentary on the *Daśa-rūpaka,* but a short treatise, mostly in the nature of a compilation, explaining the characteristics of dramatic composition. It may have formed the Nāṭaka-section of some comprehensive work on Poetics. It refers to *Daśa-rūpaka* by name.

26. *Nāṭaka-ratna-kośa,* cited by Rāyamukuṭa and Bhānujī. *ABod* 182b. This may be the Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratnakośa of Sāgara Nandin, see above p. 310.

27. *Nāṭakāvatāra,* mentioned by Mohanadāsa (*q.v.*). *ABod* 142a.

28. *Nāṭya-darpaṇa*, cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśīya* (ed. N.S.P. 1914, p. 7) and Bharatamallika on Bhaṭṭi xiv. 3. See p. 297, no. 82 above.

29. *Nāṭya-sarvasva-dīpikā*. *BORI MS* no. 41 of 1916-18 (*Cat.* xii, no. 344, p. 453). Purports to be a comm. on the so-called *Ādibharata* in 5 Skandhas, 32 Adhyāyas and 221 Prakaraṇas, of which a fragment is found in a Mysore MS named *Ādibharata*. For an account of this MS and the work see S. K. De. The Problem of Bharata and Ādi-Bharata in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 156-76.

30. *Rasa-kalikā*, cited by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī* (Aufrecht i 494a). For a *Rasa-kalikā* by Rudrabhaṭṭa see V. Raghavan *Number of Rasas*, p. 53f. This work is found in two MSS in the Govt. Orient. Library, Madras (nos. R. 2241 and 3274). It is identical with the work cited by Vāsudeva, for all the six verses quoted by him are found in it.

31. *Rasa-kaumudī*. Peterson v, no. 414. P. K. Gode (*Cal. Oriental Journal* iii, pp. 35-37) gives the latter half of the 18th century A. D. as the probable date of this anonymous work.

32. *Rasa-gandha*. Rice 286 (Aufrecht i. 494b).

33. *Rasa-gāndhāra*. Aufrecht i. 494b (may be a mistake for *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha).

34. *Rasa-ratnākara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* ix. 71 and on *Meghadūta* (ed. Nandargikar, 1894, pp. 64, 67. 85, 91). Aufrecht. i. 496a (commentary by Hṛdayarāma Miśra).

35. *Rasa-ratna-kośa*, anonymous, is mentioned in Aufrecht i. 495b ; but it may be Kumbha's work of the same name (see p. 271-72).

36. *Rasa-bindu* and *Rasāmṛta-sindhu*. Kathvate no. 703 and 707 ; *BORI MS Cat* xii, no. 212, pp. 245-46.

37. *Rasa-viveka*. *Madras*. *Trm C* 589. (Cf Oppert 5144).

38. *Rasa-samuccaya*. Aufrecht i. 496b.

39. *Rasa-sāgara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Śiśu* xv. 89.

40. *Rasa-sudhākara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Raghu* vi. 12.

It is *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla which Mallinātha cites in his com. on *Kumāra*. For this work see above p. 239.

41. *Rasākara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Megha-dūta* (ed. *ibid*, p. 87, 97).

42. *Rasika-sarvasva*, cited by Nārāyaṇa on *Gīta-govinda* v. 2 ; also by Rucipati in his comm. on *Anargha-rāghava* (NSP ed.) p. 13.

43. *Rahasya*, probably an abbreviation of some more definite title, cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii. 60, xiv. 40, on *Śiśu* xiii. 10.

44. *Śṛṅgāra-kaustubha*. Rice 288 (Aufrecht i. 660b).

45. *Śṛṅgāra-candrodaya*, cited in *Prastāva-cintāmaṇi*. Weber i, p. 229.

46. *Śṛṅgāra-taraṅgiṇī*. Oppert 2465 ; Rice 288 (= Aufrecht i. 660b).

47. *Śṛṅgāra-pavana*. Oppert 5766 (Aufrecht i. 661a).

48. *Śṛṅgāra-mañjarī*. Aufrecht i. 661a.

49. *Śṛṅgāra-vidhi*. Oppert 5680 (Aufrecht i. 661a).

50. *Śṛṅgāra-ratnākara*. Aufrecht ii. 158a.

It is not always clear, from the citations or descriptions in the catalogues, whether some of the works on Rasa and Śṛṅgāra noted here are really works on Poetics or partake of the nature of erotic Kāvya. But care has been taken to exclude the latter wherever possible.

Among recent publications (in Sanskrit) on Poetics, produced late in the 19th century, may be mentioned :

(1) *Alaṃkāra-sūtra* by Candrakānta Tarkālaṃkāra, a Bengal Pandit who lived within living memory. (Publ. Calcutta 1899).

(2) *Yaśovanta-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* by Pandit Rāmakarṇa in praise of a native prince of Rajaputana of that name. (Publ. Godhapur 1897).

(3) *Alaṃkāra-maṇi-hāra* by Śrīkṛṣṇa Brahmacārin, published in Mysore Govt. Oriental Series in 4 vols. nos. 51, 85, 68, 72. The author is called Kṛṣṇabrahmatantra Parakāla-

svāmin, a recent pontiff of the Parakāla Śrīvaiṣṇava Math in Mysore.

(4) *Kāvya-dīpikā* of Kānticandra Mukhopādhyāya Vidyāratna (ed. Calcutta 1870, 1886, with a comm. by Jivananda Vidyasagar 1919 ; ed. Haridatta Sastri, Lahore 1939, with Skt. and Hindi commentary). It is a compilation for beginners from Mammaṭa and other authors by a modern writer belonging to the 19th century.

(5) *Alaṃkāra-sāra-mañjarī* with Skt. text and Hindi comm. by Narayan Sastri Khiste, ed. Narahari Sastri Thatte, Chowkhamba Skt. Series 1933.

CONCLUSION

(1)

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages not only to indicate the diversity as well as immensity of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra literature, but also to settle its relative chronology as a workable basis for an historical treatment. If we leave aside its unknown beginnings and Bharata, the historic period of its growth covers broadly a thousand years from 800 to 1800 A.D. It is marked by a speculative activity, surprising alike for its magnitude and its minuteness. This activity in its early stage centres in Kashmir, to which place belong most of the famous and original writers on Poetics. We do not indeed know the place of origin of the two earliest writers, Bharata and Bhāmaha, but immediately after them we find Vāmana, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Mukula, Ānandavardhana, Lollaṭa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra, Kuntaka, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka flourishing in Kashmir. The only important exception is found in Daṇḍin who was probably a South Indian writer. Coming to later times we find the study extending itself to Central India, Gujarat, the Dekkan and Bengal. In South India, no doubt, this study was kept alive by a succession of brilliant, if not very original, writers ; but these contributions of later times, though greater in bulk and sometimes superior in a certain acuteness, never supersede the volume of original work done in Kashmir, which may be fittingly regarded as the home-land, if not the birthplace, of the Alaṃkāra-śāstra. The writers of Central India, Gujarat, the Dekkan and Bengal only carry on the tradition, as well as acknowledge the authority, of the Kashmirian originators of the discipline.

(2)

Although our history covers a period of more than a thousand years, it is yet marked by several well-defined stages.

With the date of Ānandavardhana, we arrive for the first time at a distinct landmark in its chronology as well as its history ; and we may take it as the central point from which we may proceed backward and forward, although the system of Ānandavardhana itself was raised to almost exclusive recognition by the classical work of Mammaṭa. The mutual relation of this system to the other systems flourishing before and after Ānandavardhana furnishes the best and safest criterion for the orientation of the divergent streams of thoughts and tendencies, which gather together in one clear, dominant and finally authoritative doctrine in Mammaṭa. Indeed, one of the obvious objects of Ānandavardhana's work was not only to fix the new principle of Dhvani in poetry, but also to work up and rationalise into a synthetic and comprehensive system the already accumulated ideas, elaborated by previous thinkers but flowing through different channels in the respective systems of Bhāmaha, Vāmana and the post-Bharata dramaturgic Rasa-writers ; while Mammaṭa gathered the results up and uttered them in the convenient and concise form of a systematic text-book.

(3)

Although in Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, the earliest known work on Poetics, we meet for the first time with a more or less systematic scheme of Poetics, there is enough evidence to show that it must have been preceded by a period, covering perhaps several centuries, of unknown beginnings. All that we know of this period consists of glimpses of rhetorical speculations, such as we find in Bharata, in the recorded opinions of (or stray references to) pre-Bhāmaha writers like Medhāvin, or in such treatises on Alaṃkāra as was presumably utilised by the Kāvya-poets in general and by Bhaṭṭi in particular. This period begins with the enumeration and definition of only four poetic figures, ten Guṇas and ten Doṣas, but ends with the elaborate characterisation of thirty-eight independent figures in Bhaṭṭi. But what is important to note

in this period is Bharata's more or less elaborate exposition of Dramaturgy, and incidentally of Rasa, which element, however, is considered not in relation to Poetry and Poetics, but in connexion with Drama and Dramaturgy.

This is followed by a comparatively brief but important period of extraordinary fertility and creative genius, beginning with Bhāmaha and ending with Ānandavardhana, in which we find most of the fundamental problems of Sanskrit Poetics discussed and settled in their general outlines. We have, on the one hand, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, devoting themselves to the consideration of those decorative devices of poetic expression which are known as Alaṃkāras (poetic figures), and confining themselves chiefly to an external art or theory of adornment, from which the discipline itself takes its name and its original tradition. Daṇḍin and Vāmana, on the other hand, emphasise in poetry the objective beauty of representation realised by means of what they call Mārga or Rīti (roughly 'diction') and its constituent excellences, the ten Guṇas. Both these systems, which emphasise respectively the elements of Alaṃkāra and Rīti in poetry, content themselves with the working out of the outward forms of expression, the advantages of which were considered sufficient for poetry. They point out the faults to be avoided and the excellences to be attained, and describe the poetical embellishments which should enhance its beauty, insomuch so that the whole discipline came to receive the significant designation of Alaṃkāra-śāstra or the Science of Poetical Embellishment.

Side by side with these early writers, however, we have the commentators on Bharata (like Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and others) who were bringing into prominence the aesthetic importance of Rasa, the consideration of the moods, sentiments and feelings, which we find reacting upon and influencing even the theorists of rival persuasion (e.g. Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and Rudraṭa) who betray themselves more and more alive to the significance of this element in poetry.

But the discussion of Rasa appears to have been, so far, confined chiefly to the sphere of the dramatic art, and its bearings on poetry were not fully realised until the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana had come into the field.

These new theorists, headed by Ānandavardhana, maintain that no system of Poetics, like no system of Dramaturgy, can entirely ignore the moods, feelings and sentiments as essential factors in poetry, and must therefore find an important place for Rasa in its scheme. What was thus already established in the drama was taken over and applied to poetry, profoundly modifying, as it did, the entire conception of the Kāvya. The Rasa came to be considered as the "essence" (*ātman*) of poetry ; and in order to harmonise it in poetic theory, the new school evolved a theory of "suggestion" (*dhvani*) as the means of its expression. Not satisfied, however, with working up the concept of Rasa into their system, the new theorists devoted themselves to the examination of the already accumulated ideas of Alaṃkāra and Rīti (with its constituent Guṇa and Doṣa), with a view to correlate them to the new idea of Dhvani (and Rasa), and thus by synthesis evolve a comprehensive theory of Poetics.

The interval between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa was taken up in settling precisely the details of the new system, which was raised to almost exclusive recognition by the final text-book of Mammaṭa. Its success was so complete that the new concept of Dhvani was unquestionably accepted by most later writers, and the systems which emerged after Mammaṭa could no longer be strictly regarded as entirely independent systems.

(4)

But a new theory, however systematic or comprehensive, is never accepted without some opposition. Ānandavardhana's system, no doubt, absorbed and overshadowed in course of time all the earlier systems ; but in the interval between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa, while it was still

striving for supremacy, we find a few vigorous but short-lived reactionary movements which refused to accept Ānandavardhana's new interpretation. Thus, we have Kuntaka who strove to make Bhāmaha's concept of Vakrokti elaborate and comprehensive enough to include the new ideas; Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who raised his voice on behalf of the Rasa-systems against their acceptance; and Mahimabhaṭṭa who attempted to settle the new concept of Dhvani with the technical process of logical inference. All these writers, however, do not deny the newly established doctrine of Dhvani, but they try to explain it in terms of already recognised ideas. In spite of these nonconformist schools, however, whose feeble opposition languished for want of support even in the time of Mammaṭa, the system of Poetics, as finally outlined by Ānandavardhana and worked out in detail by Mammaṭa and his followers, was established without question in almost all writings from the 12th century downwards. Here and there we have some surviving exponents of some old tradition, like the Vāgbhaṭas or the followers of Bhoja, as well as specialised departments which stood apart like the group of Kavi-śikṣā-writers or the erotic Rasa-writers; but in the main, the creative days of the science were over, and no new theory forthcoming, the system of Ānandavardhana, as represented by Mammaṭa, reigned supreme, even influencing, to an obvious extent, the writers who would pretend to stand apart.

(5)

These considerations, which will become clearer as we proceed in our study of details in the next volume of this work will enable us to fix the rough outlines of the history of Sanskrit Poetics and divide it, for convenience of treatment, into several periods in conformity to chronology and the stages of development through which its doctrines passed. The dim beginnings of the discipline, like the beginnings of most other departments of Indian speculation, are hidden from us, until it issues forth in the works of Bharata and

Bhāmaha in a more or less self-conscious form. Then starts a period, ending with Ānandavardhana, which may be characterised as the most creative stage in its history, a stage in which the dogmas and doctrines of the different systems were formulated and settled in their general outlines, giving us at least four different systems which emphasise respectively the theories of Rasa, of Alaṃkāra, of Rīti and of Dhvani in poetry. To this period belong Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, the commentators on Bharata (Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and others), the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* and *Agni-purāṇa*, and lastly, the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana. Between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa, we have a third definitive period which ends with the ultimate standardisation of a complete scheme of Poetics, with the Dhvani-theory in its centre, in which the divergent gleams of earlier speculations are harmonised into a focus, and which finds itself finally set forth in a well-defined and precise form in the text-book of Mammaṭa. To this period also belong reactionary theorists, like Kuntaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as Bhoja who carries on the same tradition as that of the *Agni-purāṇa*, and Dhanañjaya who writes on Dramaturgy. The period which follows this is necessarily a scholastic period of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in summarising and setting forth in a systematic form (generally after Mammaṭa) the results of the final speculations, and also in indulging in fine distinctions and hair-splitting refinements on minute questions. This stage, therefore, is marked by great scholastic acumen, if not by remarkable originality or creative genius ; but at the same time it denotes a progressive deterioration of the study itself. The branching-off of some specialised and practical groups of writers from the main stem is to be explained as due rather to this degenerate spirit of the times than to any real split in the domain of poetic theory or to any desire for independent thinking. It is also the age of numberless commentators, and of commentators on commentators, who busied themselves with the

hardly inspiring task of explanation, of expansion or restriction of the already established rules. We have also now a number of popular writers who wanted to simplify the study for general enlightenment, the lowest stage being reached when we come to the manuals and school-books of quite recent times.

(6)

We may, therefore, conclude here by broadly indicating the bearings of the chronological results of this volume on our enquiry in general, in the light of which (as well as in the light of what follows in the next volume) we may tentatively put forward a rough division of the different periods of our history, noting the different groups of writers comprised in them, with a view to facilitate the study of the problems which will confront us in the next volume:

I. From unknown Beginnings to Bhāmaha. (Formative Stage).

II. From Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana. *Circa* middle of the 7th to the middle of the 9th century. (Creative Stage).

  (1) Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa (*alaṃkāra*-theory).
  (2) Daṇḍin and Vāmana (*rīti*-theory).
  (3) Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and others (*rasa*-theory).
  (4) The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* and *Agni-purāṇa*.
  (5) The Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana (*dhvani*-theory).

III. From Ānandavardhana to Mammaṭa. *Circa* middle of the 9th to the middle of the 11th century. (Definitive Stage).

  (1) Abhinavagupta
  (2) Kuntaka
  (3) Rudrabhaṭṭa
  (4) Dhanañjaya and Dhanika

(5) Bhoja
(6) Mahimabhaṭṭa

IV. From Mammaṭa to Jagannātha. *Circa* middle of the 11th to the 18th century. (Scholastic Stage),

(1) Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha (including Hemacandra, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Jayadeva, Appayya and others).
(2) The Vāgbhaṭas and Keśava Miśra.
(3) The writers on Rasa, especially Śṛṅgāra : Śāradātanaya, Śiṅga-bhūpāla, Bhānudatta, Rūpa Gosvāmin and others.
(4) The writers on Kavi-śikṣā: Rājaśekhara, Kṣemendra, Arisiṃha and Amaracandra, Deveśvara and others.
(5) Jagannātha.

(7)

Looking at the question from another point of view, we may classify the systems of Poetics broadly into (1) Pre-dhvani (2) Dhvani and (3) post-Dhvani systems, taking Dhvani-theory as the central landmark. In the Pre-dhvani group, we include all writers (flourishing before Ānandavardhana), mentioned in Groups I and II above, with the exception of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, with whose names the Dhvani-system is associated. In the Post-dhvani systems may be comprised the followers of the Dhvani-system from Mammaṭa to Jagannātha, together with reactionary or unorthodox authors like Kuntaka or Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as the writers on Śṛṅgāra and on Kavi-śikṣā. On the other hand, the systems of Poetics have been grouped, on the basis of the particular theory emphasised by a particular group of writers, into (1) the Rasa School (2) the Alaṃkāra School (3) the Rīti School and (4) the Dhvani School. The convenience of this classification is obvious, but it is doubtful whether we may safely apply the term "school" to indicate affiliation to a particular

system of opinion,[1] when we consider that one has to admit a great deal of mutual and (to a certain extent) inevitable contamination of the different "schools", which makes the existence of any particular school *by itself* almost impossible. Thus, the "Dhvani School" admits Rasa and Alaṃkāra as important factors of poetry, which are thus not exclusively monopolised by the so-called Alaṃkāra and Rasa Schools. It is doubtful, again, if a Rasa School, properly so-called was at all founded by Bharata, who is taken as its original exponent, or a similar Alaṃkāra School by Bhāmaha. All that we can say is that Bharata and Bhāmaha laid stress on the elements of Rasa and Alaṃkāra which became in course of

1 Sovani in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* pp. 387f. Reliance has been placed on Ruyyaka's review of previous opinions and Samudrabandha's classification. But Ruyyaka only takes the concept of *dhvani* or *pratīyamāna artha* as the starting point and considers how far it was accepted, explicitly or implicitly, by his predecessors. Samudrabandha, commenting on this passage, speaks of five *pakṣas* or theses, including the *dhvani*-theory (which he calls the last *pakṣa)* with which his author identifies himself. His classification is based upon the conventional theory that poetry consists of a "special" disposition of word and its sense (*viśiṣṭa śabda* and *artha*). This speciality, in his opinion, may be realised by putting emphasis on their (1) *dharma* (inherent characteristic) (2) *vyāpāra* (operation) and (3) *vyaṅgya* (suggestiveness). In the first case, the *dharma* may proceed from *alaṃkāra* and *guṇa* (i.e. *rīti*). In the second case, the *vyāpāra* may consist of *bhaṇiti-prakāra* or *bhogīkaraṇa*. Thus, we get five standpoints associated respectively with the names of Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Kuntaka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Ānandavardhana. This classification, though very significant, is obviously overlapping and historically incorrect. The *vyañjanā*, it may be objected, which is taken as one of the bases of differentiation, is admittedly as much a *vyāpāra* as *bhaṇiti* postulated by Kuntaka. Besides, Kuntaka, as a matter of fact, developes Bhāmaha's idea of *vakrokti* as *bhaṇiti-vaicitrya*. and therefore may be properly included among those who put emphasis on *alaṃkāra*. Similarly, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka describes *bhoga* as a peculiar function (*dharma*) or process by which Rasa is said to be realised ; and therefore he is in reality an exponent of the Rasa-theory as an interpreter of Bharata's dictum on Rasa.

time established ideas in the realm of Poetics. As a rule, each great writer who puts forward, consciously or unconsciously, a new theory, takes over from his predecessors those ideas which have stood the test of criticism and which he can combine in a self-consistent system of his own. In this way, really valuable ideas have been generally adopted, although sometimes other ideas, perhaps of the same author, have by common consent been rejected. This is illustrated by the case of the Vakrokti-jīvitakāra, whose theory of Vakrokti was universally rejected, although the main principle (analysis of an Alaṃkāra) for which he was contending is accepted by Ruyyaka and others. It is not maintained here that the history of Sanskrit Poetics consists of only *one* stream of development, and that within it we have mere currents and counter-currents. The latter were indeed very important, but they never succeeded in forming into separate rivers; and the different channels originating independently or breaking away from the main course ultimately merge into one dominant and clear stream.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI=Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Aufrecht=Th. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum i-iii. Leipzig 1891-1903.

ABod=Aufrecht's Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Oxonii 1864.

AFl=Aufrecht's Florentine Sanskrit MSS. Leipzig 1892.

ALeip=Aufrecht's Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig. Leipzig 1901.

Bendall=C. Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the British Museum. London 1902.

Bhandarkar. R. G. Bhandarkar's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS are quoted with reference to the particular years of operations, as indicated on the respective title-page of the Reports. Other lists by him are cited as in Aufrecht. Sridhar Bhandarkar's Reports and Catalogues are separately referred to.

Bibl. Ind.=Bibliotheca Indica Series of Sanskrit publication.

Bik. or Bikaner=Rajendralal Mitra's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner. Calcutta 1880.

BORI Cat. MSS=P. K. Gode's Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt. Collections of MSS deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Volume xii deals with MSS of Alaṃkāra and Nāṭya.

BSOS or *BSOAS*=Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.

Br. Mus.=British Museum.

BSS=Bombay Sanskrit Series. Ben. S. S.=Benares Sanskrit Series.

Burnell or *Tanjore Catalogue*=Burnell's Classified Index to Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore. London 1880.

Also P. P. S. Sastri's revised Catalogue of the same collection, esp. vol. ix which deals with Alaṃkāra (1930). Srirangam 1928-31.

Comm.=Commentary.

Deccan Coll. Cat.=Sridhar Bhandarkar's Catalogue of MSS deposited in the Deccan College. Bombay 1888.

Ed.=edition or edited. *EI*=Epigraphia Indica.

F or f=following. Fn=Footnote

GgA=Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN=Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Hall *Index*=Hall's Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems. Calcutta 1859.

HPS or H. P. Sastri=Haraprasad Sastri's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Second Series. i-iv. Also his *Report* 1895-1900. Also his Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vi.

HSP=History of Sanskrit Poetics by P. V. Kane, prefixed to his ed. of the Sāhitya-darpaṇa, 3rd ed. Bombay 1951.

Hultzsch=E. Hultzsch's Reports on Sanskrit MSS in Southern India. i, 1895 ; ii, 1896 ; iii, 1905. Madras 1895-1905.

IA=Indian Antiquary. *IHQ*=Indian Historical Quarterly.

IOC=J. Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library. Part iii deals with works on Alaṃkāra. London 1891.

JA=Journal Asiatique.

JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBRAS=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDL=Journal of the Department of Letters. Calcutta University.

JOI=Journal of Oriental Institue, Baroda.

JOR=Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

Kashmir Rep.=G. Bühler's Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India (Extra no. *JBRAS* 1877). Bombay 1877. As regards Bühler's other Reports and Lists, the references are as in Aufrecht.

Kathavate=A. V. Kathavate's Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during 1891-95. Bombay 1901.

Kāvyamālā=Kāvyamālā Series published by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay.

KBod=A. B. Keith's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library, Appendix to vol. i. Oxford 1909.

Kielhorn, *Rep.* 1880-81=F. Kielhorn's Report on the search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81. Bombay 1881.

Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.*=Kielhorn's Classified Alphabetical Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Central Provinces. Nagpur 1874. Kielhorn's other reports and lists are cited as in Aufrecht.

KM=Kāvyamālā publications in 14 Gucchakas, also referred to as Kāvyamālā in parts.

Madras Cat.=A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by S. Kuppusvami Sastri. Vol. xxii (dealing with works on Alaṃkāra). Madras 1918.

Madras Trm A, *B* and *C*=A Triennial Catalogue of MSS, collected during the Triennium 1910-11 and 1912-13 for the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by M. Rangacarya and S. Kuppusvami Sastri, Vol i (A, B, C). Madras 1913. Also vol. iv 1928 ; vol. v 1932 etc.

Mitra=Rajendralal Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. i-x. Calcutta 1871-90.

NSP or N.S.P.=Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, and its edition of Sanskrit works.

Oppert=G. Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit MSS in the Private

Libraries in Southern India. i, Madras 1880 ; ii, Madras 1885.

Our Heritage=Journal of the Postgraduate Research Dept. Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Peterson=P. Peterson's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS, as follow: i Detailed Report 1882-83 ; ii 1883-84 ; iii 1884-86; iv 1886-92 ; v 1892-95 ; vi 1895-97. Bombay 1883-99.

Rep.=Report.

Rice=L. Rice's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Mysore and Coorg. Bangalore 1884.

Raghavan, V=*The Number of Rasas* and *Some Concepts of the Alaṃkāra Śāstra.* Adyar Library, Madras 1940 and 1942.

Regnaud=Regnaud's *Rhétorique Sanskrite.* Paris 1884.

Sb. der Preuss. Akad=Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sb. der Wiener Akad.=Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SCB=Lists of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi MSS deposited in the Benares Sanskrit College, comprising collections 1897-1901, 1904-05, 1909-10, 1911-12, 1912-13, 1914-15. Allahabad. Separately published 1902-15.

SCC=Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Calcutta Sanskrit College by Hrisikesa Sastri and Sivacandra Guin. Vol vii (dealing with Alaṃkāra works). Calcutta 1904.

ŚgŚ=Sesagiri Sastri's Reports on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. Madras, i, 1898 ; ii, 1899.

Śl=Śloka.

Sten Konow=Sten Konow's Indische Drama (in the Grundriss Series), Berlin and Leipzig 1920.

Stein or *Jammu Cat.*=M. A. Stein's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Raghunath Temple Library of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Bombay 1894.

Ulwar=P. Peterson's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar. Bombay 1892.

WBod=Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library vol. ii, begun by M. Winternitz and completed by Keith. Oxford 1905.

Weber=A. Weber's Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin. I, 1853 ; II, pt. i 1886, pt. ii 1888, pt. iii 1892. Berlin 1853-92.

WRAS=Winternitz's Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS in the Royal Asiatic Society. London 1902.

WZKM=Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG=Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Obvious abbreviations of texts referred to (e.g. *Kāv. prak.*= *Kāvya-prakāśa)* are not given in this list ; but the texts are often quoted only with the author's name, e.g. Daṇḍin= Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa.* Other Reports and Catalogues are cited as in Aufrecht.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 4. Footnote 1, line 2. Read *kanīyāṃsaṃ*.

P. 34. Footnote 1, lines 4 and 5. Read 151 (for 161) and 160 (for 16).

P. 44. Bibliography. Line 4. Read ch. 1 (for ch. i), and line 8 read du (for de). Next page, line 1 read *Sanskrite* (for *Sanscrit*).

P. 55. The last footnote should be numbered 4.

P. 93. Footnote, line 8. Add after the paragraph: The verse is missing in ASB MS no. 4801/5456 (H. P. Sastri, *Cat.* vi, p. 395).

P. 140. Line 2. Add: (6) *Laghu-ṭīkā* by Harihara Miśra (H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS* vi, no. 4808/4851, p. 399).

P. 189. Line 21. Read gloss (for glass).

P. 207. Line 7. Read *Keli-* (for *Kali-*).

P. 233. Footnote 1. Lines 4 and 9. Read i (for ii).

P. 259. Footnote 2. Add: Maladhāri Rājaśekhara Sūri, author of the *Prabandha-kośa*, was a Śvetāmbara Jaina who became pontiff of the Harṣapurīya-gaccha about 1350-54 A.D.

P. 270. Paragraph 15. Read KĀŚĪ (for KASHĪ).

P. 274. Add after line 15: Kṛṣṇāvadhūta also wrote a drama called *Īhāmṛga* or *Sarva-vinoda* in four Acts dealing with Śṛṅgāra, Bībhatsa, Hāsya and Vairāgya.

INDEX

OF AUTHORS AND WORKS ON ALAṂKĀRA CITED IN VOL. I

(References are to pages ; asterisk indicates footnote)

AUTHORS

2. WORKS

N.B.—There are numerous passing references to some of these works and authors; but the figures in the index indicate the places where they are dealt with or cited substantially.